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MAJMA'-UL-BAḤRAIN

OR

THE MINGLING OF THE TWO OCEANS

BY

PRINCE MUḤAMMAD DĀRĀ SHIKŪH.

EDITED IN THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN
WITH
ENGLISH TRANSLATION, NOTES AND VARIANTS
BY

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FOREWORD.

The 'science of religion' has in the last fifty years developed and progressed in many ways. We have the comparative, the historical, the sociological and the psychological methods. Of late a new school has arisen which is well-exemplified by its forerunner James (*Varieties of religious Experience*), and latterly by Otto (*Das Heilige* and *Die Religionen*), a school which relegates history and philology to the background to concentrate in the first place on the religious experience itself. Pratt in his recent work *The Pilgrimage of Buddhism* applies the principle in a practical way and rightly says: "To give the feeling of an alien religion it is necessary to do more than expound its concepts and describe its history. One must catch its emotional undertone, enter sympathetically into its sentiments, feel one's way into its symbols, its cult, its art, and then seek to impart these things not merely by scientific exposition but in all sorts of indirect ways." *Non scholae sed vitae* is the motto of this school.

Nevertheless, history and philology will remain indispensable accessories. And also in the historical method there is development and subdivision. A group of phenomena of great interest and importance, but scarcely as yet touched upon, is the one furnished by what may be called the symbiotics of religion. In Europe, the confluence of paganism and Christianity has submerged all paganism without destroying it. In Java, the confluence of Indonesian animism, Hinduism and Islam has produced a doctrinal, terminological and sentimental complex which is difficult to analyse and is an example of permeation without suppression. In China, Confucianism and Buddhism have remained unmixed side by side, whilst Buddhism has intimately influenced Taoism, chiefly in the popular strata. In India, likewise, Hinduism and Islam have remained oil and water, though a subtle influence has perhaps been exercised upon later Islamic mysticism and magic by the surrounding Hindu atmosphere. On the contrary the purely artificial individual endeavours of an Akbar and a Dārā Shikūh to introduce Hindu thought and speculation into Persian literature have remained almost completely isolated and sterile. A little literary theological island has been created which has remained uninhabited and from which no travellers have undertaken further voyages into the world of Islām. The rich and fertile results of the introduction of Greek thought into the Arabic and the mediaeval western world is in this instance counterbalanced by an entire lack of consequences, and the effort was still-born. Nevertheless syncretistic and irenistic tendencies are always interesting and deserve attention. The sharply defined and definitely circumscribed literary activity of the few notable Muhammadans who have sought to transplant Indian thought into the Islamic world is of such a nature and moreover connected with incidents of human and dramatic value.

It is difficult to decide where to begin in this study: with the artificial endeavours of rulers like Akbar or Dārā Shikūh or with those of humbler mystics without autocratic influence. One might either

prefer to approach the problem through translations such as the Persian translation of the Upanisads or through systematic treatises such as the one that forms the subject of the present volume. The whole subject has been scarcely touched. Speyer in his *De Indische Theosophie* has in one of his chapters dealt with the influence of Indian theosophy on the West and has shortly spoken about Kabir, the Sikhs, Akbar, and Ram Mohan Roy. De Massignon has recently published and translated the conversations between Dārā Shikūh and Bābā Lāl Dās. 'Abdul Walī has dealt with the relations between Dārā Shikūh and Sarmad (*Journal*, A.S.B., Vol. XX). The most fundamental discussion, however, hitherto, of Indian influence on Muhammadan mysticism seems M. Horten's *Indische Strömungen in der islamischen Mystik* (Heidelberg 1927 and 1928). The two parts of the work contain ample bibliographical references.

Now Professor Mahfuz-ul-Haq comes, in the present publication, with a contribution of singular interest for this subject. It is not that this "Mingling of the two Oceans" proves to be a book of deep insight or great spirituality. On the contrary, it seems 'poor in spirit' and largely verbal. But it gives us a starting point. From this little book we can work backwards and forwards. It is an apt focus for further research.

Professor Haq, by his painstaking translation, and by the fullness of his annotation, has deserved well of his readers and has made easy the task of students in this particular field who may be neither Sanskritists nor Persianists. Above all, by his careful and straightforward work he has taken away a false glamour with which the tragic death of its author had endowed the booklet as long as it remained sealed. But in this connection a word of caution suggests itself. We feel that the absence of the glow of true inspiration in the treatise is obvious. But is this poverty of quality a true measure of Dārā's attitude and endowments? From other data known concerning him it is legitimate to regard this question as one open to a certain measure of doubt. Have we not rather to esteem the matter-of-fact substance and the terminological comparisons of the treatise not as the measure of his vision but as the measure of his prudence? After all he was executed as a heretic. Could he in his time and in his circumstances have said more than he did in this work without danger of dire consequences? All these are matters of speculation, but of great human interest. We shall only know for certain when his whole *œuvre* is made accessible to us, and we are grateful to Professor Haq for having made a beginning. Dārā Shikūh, whether he was great of soul or only an aristocratic but small dabbler in great things, will remain a tragic figure in human history. As the last continuator of a short line of activity begun by his great-grandfather, the great Akbar, he is also an historical figure in the development of Indian thought. For all these and many other reasons we welcome the present work in which from beyond the gulf of death the voice of Hindu-Muslim Unity has been given life again, insistent, sincere, and tragic.

CALCUTTA: } JOHAN VAN MANEN.
15*th May*, 1929. }

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IMPORTANT ERRATUM.

All page numbers given in the margins on p. 78 of the work (p. 2 of Section III, Text) and on pp. 117-128 of the work (pp. 1-12 of Section IV, Variants) should be increased by 2, as by an oversight the page numbers of the title leaves of the two sections have not been taken into account. Owners are advised to make the necessary corrections in their copies.

TABLE OF TRANSLITERATION.

ا	ā.	ض	ḍ.
ث	th.	ط	ṭ.
چ	ch.	ظ	ẓ.
ح	ḥ.	ع	‘a,‘i,‘u.
خ	kh.	غ	gh.
ذ	dh.	ق	ḳ.
ز	z.	و	ū.
ژ	zh.	ء	’a,’i,’u.
ش	sh.	ی	ī, y.
ص	ṣ.		

ERRATA.

p. 3, l. 3	*For*	Ḳandhār	*read*	Ḳandahār.
p. 11, l. 17	,,	*Shath*	,,	*Shaṭḥ*.
p. 11, l. 34	,,	Rūzbahān	,,	Rūzbihān.
p. 12, l. 4	,,	pp. xxx–xxxiii	,,	pp. 30–33.
p. 21, l. 28	,,	See (	,,	(See
p. 23, l. 29	,,	Ḳandhār	,,	Ḳandahār.
p. 33, l. 13	,,	page 5	,,	page (III. 7) 83.
p. 39, l. 35	,,	See p. 6, n I	,,	See p. 8, n. I.
p. 40, l. 36	,,	*Rasa*	,,	10 *Rasa*.
p. 47, l. 16	,,	(*Āwz*) *ā*	,,	(*Āwāz*).
p. 48, l. 10	,,	*Dhamma*	,,	*Ḍamma*.
p. 51, l. 11	,,	*ruyat*	,,	*rūyat*.
p. 53, ll. 20, 21	,,	Ghaffārī	,,	Ghifārī.
p. 55, l. 14	,,	(Path) *ā*	,,	(Path).
p. 60, l. 35	,,	p. 13	,,	p. 49.
p. 97, l, 10	,,	إنّى راهُ	,,	أنّى أَرَاهُ
p. 98, ll. 16, 17	,,	غفّارى	,,	غِفارى

INTRODUCTION.

Dārā Shikūh, the author of the present work, was born at Ajmīr, (Monday night, the 29th Ṣafar, 1024 A.H.),[1] the city hallowed by the memory of the great mystic, Mu'īnuddīn Chishtī, whose tomb there has, for centuries past, been visited by the devoted followers of the Prophet. Dārā's father, Shāhjahān, had also frequented the tomb of the celebrated saint and prayed earnestly for the birth of a son, for his two eldest children had been daughters.[2] The prayer was accepted, as it is said, and Dārā's birth was naturally hailed with the outburst of feelings of joy by his devoted parents.

The prince himself records the circumstances attending his birth, while noticing the life of Mu'īnuddīn Chishtī, in his *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā*:[3]

"And this *faḳīr* was born in the suburbs of Ajmīr, by the (lake of) Sāgar Tāl, on the last day of Ṣafar, Monday midnight, 1024 A.H. As in the house of my respected father three daughters had been born and there were no male issues and (as) the age of His Majesty had reached twenty-four, he, on account of the faith and devotion that he had for the Khwāja (i.e. Mu'īnuddīn Chishtī) prayed, with thousand presentations and supplications, for the birth of a son. And with His grace God, the Most High, brought this meanest slave of his (i.e. Dārā Shikūh) into existence who hopes that He will grant him the grace of doing good and will bring to his host His goodwill and that of His friends. *Āmīn*, Oh, Lord of the world." Thus, it is a happy coincidence that Dārā who was born at the city of a great mystic and divine turned out to be a devout Ṣūfī and a 'man of the Path' throughout his life.

Early Life.

We know very little about Dārā's early life, for the Mughal historians, who have primarily been the chroniclers of the political events occurring in the State, give us very scanty information on the subject,

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[1] *Bādshāhnāma* (Bib. Ind.), Vol. I, Part i, p. 391; *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ* (Bib. Ind.), Vol. I, p. 92.

[2] Ḥūr Nisā Begam (b. 8th Ṣafar, 1022 A.H., and d. 4th Rabī' II, 1025 A.H.), and Jahān Ārā Begam (b. 21st Ṣafar, 1023 A.H. and d. Ramaḍān, 1092 A.H.).

[3] Nawal Kishūr Edition, p. 94.

and the first glimpse that we get of him is at the time when he is handed over to Jahāngīr [1] as a hostage on behalf of his rebel father, Khurram, and jealously guarded by his step-grandmother, Nūr Jahān. Dārā was detained at Lahore up to the date of Shāhjahān's accession (1037 A.H.=1627 A.D.).[2] When Dārā Shikūh returned to Āgra he was about 13 years old and it must have been about this time that Shāhjahān would have given earnest and serious attention to imparting higher education to him. But there is nothing on record, so far as I know, to show how far Dārā Shikūh had progressed in his studies and what special endeavours had been made by his father to educate him in accordance with the best traditions of the Mughals. What the Court Historians inform us of is not about the progress made by Dārā in his study of Philosophy [3] or Caligraphy but of the showering of royal favours, in the form of presents and gifts and promotions in official rank, etc. But we must confess that such matters can hardly interest us. They can only be used profitably by a chronicler of Dārā's political history and not by one who aims at tracing the literary attainments of this illustrious prince. So, I am constrained to pass over the many unimportant events recorded in the official and non-official histories of the reigns of Shāhjahān and Aurangzīb, and would only make a passing reference to some of the more important ones.

Dārā, as is generally known, was the most loved child of Shāhjahān and, as such, the Emperor did not like to lose his company by sending him to distant provinces. The other princes, Shujā', Murād and Aurangzīb, were sent out as provincial governors but Dārā, " the eldest child of the Khilāfat," was kept at the Imperial Court, under the very eyes of his fond father who was unwilling to part company with him. This excess of love was unfortunate in two ways : it aroused the jealousy of the other princes and shut out Dārā from gaining first-hand experience as a soldier and an administrator. Undoubtedly, he was appointed

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1 Dārā was handed over, along with Aurangzīb, to Jahāngīr in June, 1626 A.D., *Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb*, Vol. I, p. 377; *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* ('Alīgarh, 1864,) p. 391 : Beni Prasad's *Jahangir*, p. 394.

2 Dārā Shikūh was escorted with Aurangzīb to Āgra and received by the parents on the 1st Rajab, 1037 A.H. (*Bādshāhnāma*, Vol. I, Part i, pp. 177, 178 *Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb*, Vol. I, p. 398.)

3 We only learn that Mullā Mīrak Harawī was appointed as a tutor of Dārā (*Bādshāhnāma*, Vol. I, Part ii, p. 344; *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā*, p. 47).

governor of the provinces of Allahabad[1] and the Panjāb,[2] but he was allowed to live at the capital and rule through his agents. This rule by proxy could hardly make him experienced. He also led the Ḳandhār campaign in 1053 A.H.[3] But, from the accounts of the campaign, it is apparent that it was not like an expedition led to a distant land or a march through difficult and perilous territory but rather the triumphant pageant of a victorious general. The expedition was unsuccessful, so was the previous one led by Aurangzīb. But it cannot be denied that Dārā made certain tactical blunders and the over-concern of his father for him hastened his recall;[4] the task being thus left unaccomplished.

It will appear, therefore, that Dārā was more a man of the court than of the camp; but it cannot be denied, at the same time, that he possessed an extraordinary capacity for adaptability. A prince who had passed his days in the luxuries of a most magnificent Mughal court, would have been expected to be utterly hopeless in the field of action; but we find that Dārā can compose himself, he can adjust himself to his environment and can face the frowns of fortune with a dignified countenance and a lofty resignation. In the struggle for succession, which followed the illness of Shāhjahān, in 1067 A.H., Dārā displayed all his latent powers of organisation and generalship; but he was no match for the sun-dried diplomat and general—Aurangzīb. The three brothers Shujā', Aurangzīb and Murād were marching on Āgra with a well-equipped and trained army and Dārā had to face them with all the resources at his disposal. He sent his son Sulaimān Shikūh against Shujā', who was routed and turned back, but, before Sulaimān could come to the rescue of his father, the latter had been defeated by the combined forces of Aurangzīb and Murād, at Samūgaṛh (7th Ramaḍān, 1068 A.H.). The battle of Samūgaṛh sealed the fate of Dārā, who fled to Āgra, thence to Lahore, Multān, Bhakkar, Gujarāt and Cutch. He returned and fought with Aurangzīb but only to be turned back after an ignominious defeat. The flight of Dārā is a very painful episode of suffering, privation and misery. His companions

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1 Allahabad and the forts of Rohtas and Janada was given to Dārā on the 1st Jamāda I, 1055 A.H. (*Bādshāhnāma*, Vol. II, p. 424).

2 *Bādshāhnāma*, Vol. II, p. 611.

3 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 291–308.

4 *Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb*, (Bib. Ind.), p. 591.

deserted him, his best supporters left him and the climax of calamities was reached when Nādira Begam, his dearest and best loved wife, was snatched away by the cruel hand of Death. Dārā presented a miserable figure ; he was a broken man, and resigned himself to the will of God. His sufferings, however, were soon to end. He was captured by Malik Jīwan of Dadar, his Afghān host, and brought to Delhi under the escort of Aurangzīb's generals and paraded through the streets on a large elephant. He underwent a mock trial at the hands of Aurangzīb's *'Ulamā* and was found guilty of apostasy from Islām. The younger brother passed orders for his execution,[1] which was carried out on the night of Wednesday, 21st Dhul Ḥijja,[2] 1069 A.H. So died Dārā, the eldest son of Shāhjahān and the would-be emperor of Hindūstān.

Dārā as an Author.

A perusal of the writings of Dārā Shikūh will make it abundantly clear that he had Ṣūfistic leanings from a very early age. He

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[1] For an account of the trial of Dārā Shikūh and the charges brought against him see *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, (Bib Ind.), p. 4 ; *'Ālamgīrnāma*, (Bib. Ind.), pp. 34–36, in which the charges are enumerated in some detail, and p. 432 where the immediate reasons of the execution are given ; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb*, (Bib. Ind.), ii, p. 87, in which Dārā is accused of vilifying *Taṣawwuf* ; Manucci, *Sloria Do Mogor*, i, pp. 356–358, gives a very graphic account of the execution but makes the highly incredible statement that Dārā wanted to embrace Christianity in his last moments ; Bernier's account (*Travels*, p. 100), is brief ; J. N. Sarkar (*Aurangzib*, i, pp. 296–299 and ii, pp. 213–219) gives the best account based, among others, on *Tārīkh-i-Shāh Shujā'* of Mīr Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm.

[2] *'Ālamgīrnāma*, (Bib. Ind.), 432. According to *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, (Bib. Ind.), p. 27, Dārā was executed on the night of Thursday, the 21st Dhul Ḥijja ; the author of *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ* (Elliott vii, p. 244) records on the 26th Dhul Ḥijja, Khāfī Khān (*Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb*, ii, p. 87) says that Dārā was executed on the last (*ākhir*) day of Dhul Ḥijja, (i.e. 29th), while Muftī Ghulām Sarwar (*Khazīnat-ul-Aṣfiyā*, i, p. 174), records the date of execution on the 1st Muḥarram, 1070 A.H., which is evidently wrong. H. Blochmann (J.A.S.B., xxxix, i, p. 277) accepts the 21st Dhul Ḥijja and says that it was *Tuesday evening*. He observes :—

"The last day (29th Zí Hajjah) of the year 1069 coincides with Wednesday, 7th September, 1659. Hence the 21st Zí Hajjah is Tuesday, 30th August. The Muhammadan Historian says, Dárá was killed on a *Wednesday evening*. This fully agrees with our computation ; for the Muhammadan Wednesday commenced on Tuesday, 6 o'clock P.M."

had studied the well-known works of the Ṣūfīs of Islām and had examined their contents very closely and minutely. We find him making very apt quotations from the works of the various masters of Ṣūfism and also deducing relevant, but mostly independent, conclusions from the Holy Ḳur'ān and the Traditions of the Prophet. He appears to be independent in his judgment and bold in his conclusions. He does not seem to make a fetish of the stereotyped dogmas nor, necessarily, follows the beaten path. His studies in Ṣūfism lead him to the conclusion that Truth is not the exclusive property of any particular or 'chosen' race but that it can be found in all religions and at all times. But this conclusion was not reached in one day. It was the result of deep study and continued association with the divines of different religions and the Ṣūfīs of various shades of opinion. This gradual development of the mental attitude of Dārā is a very interesting study. His is a mind which advances from the commonplace to the sublime. We can have some idea of this gradual advancement from a perusal of the various works and their contents, a list of which I give here in their chronological order:

1. *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā*, is the first work of Dārā, which he wrote in his 25th year (27th Ramaḍān, 1049 A.H.). He writes in the introduction to this work that he had a particular respect for the Ṣūfīs and the religious divines, and had studied their lives closely but had been disappointed to find that the details of their lives were scattered in the pages of so many different manuscripts. Moreover, as he remarks on p. 12, the dates of the birth and death of many mystics were wanting in the standard biographies of the Ṣūfīs, to wit, the *Nafaḥāt-ul-Uns*, *Tārīkh-i-Yāfi'ī* and *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Sulṭānī*. So he contrived to compose this work with the distinct object of supplying, within a very short compass, the details regarding the dates of birth and death, the place of burial and other important particulars of the saints of Islām. The extent as well as the conciseness of the work is apparent from the fact that in some 200 pages,[1] Dārā has noticed the lives of about 411 saints and divines, including the Prophet, his wives, the Orthodox Caliphs and the Imāms. The following is a detailed list of the contents of the work:—

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[1] The Nawal Kishūr edition (1884) comprises 218 pages.

In the introduction to the work Dārā styles himself, as he has done in most of his later works, *Ḥanafī*, *Ḳādirī*, namely, a follower of Imām Abū Ḥanīfa and a *Murīd* of the order which owes its origin to Shaikh ʻAbdul Ḳādir of Gīlān, and concludes by hoping that his (*i.e.* Dārā's) future may be happy through the grace of the many divines and mystics whose lives he has noticed in this work.

2. *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā.*—This is Dārā's second work which he wrote in his 28th year (p. 134),[1] in 1052 A.H. (p. 6), dealing with the biography of Mīyān Mīr, or Mīyān Jīv, the spiritual guide of his *Pīr* and *Murshid*, Mullā Shāh,[2] called *Lisānullāh*, and his many disciples. Dārā Shikūh writes in the introduction to this work that on a certain Thursday, in the 24th year of his life, an angel cried out to him, in his dream, that he will get such a reward from God as has not been bestowed on any previous king, and the fulfilment of this message came on the 29th Dhul Ḥijja, 1049, when he was initiated into the *Ḳādirī* order by Mullā Shāh, who, according to Dārā, was the greatest divine of his time. Dārā, besides noticing at considerable length the lives of Mīyān Jīv, his sister Jamāl Khātūn, and his many disciples, the most notable among

[1] Urdū translation lithographed at Lahore.

[2] In Binyon's *The Court Painters of the Grand Moghuls* (Milford, 1921), Plate No. XXXIII, there is a fine miniature portraying Mīyān Jīv and Mullā Shāh sitting opposite to each other. And in Havell's *Indian Painting and Sculpture*, (London, 1908), there is a fine painting, reproduced in colour, in which Mullā Shāh and Khwāja ʻAbdullāh are seen sitting opposite to Mīyān Jīv, and in E. Blochet's *Les Enluminures des Manuscrits Orientaux* (Paris, 1926), there is a portrait of Dārā Shikūh and Mullā Shāh, which the learned author could not identify.

whom is Mullā Shāh, discusses various Ṣūfistic and religious problems, such as the need of a spiritual guide, the way to find him, the desirability or otherwise of *Samā'* (or engagement in hearing esoteric songs), the problem of the vision of God (or *rūyat*), etc. In short, the work is replete with interesting discussions on the various problems of the Path and can be read with profit by the serious students of Ṣūfism. It appears that Dārā has supported his arguments by reference to or quotations from the various standard works of Tradition or Ṣūfism and the names of the following works, to which Dārā has referred in this book, may serve to give an idea of the extensive studies of this prince: *Kashf-ul-Maḥjūb* (p. 5), *Tārīkh-i-Yāfi'ī* (p. 13), *Mu'jam-ul-Buldān* (p. 14), *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* (p. 24), *Mishkāt* (p. 24), *Baḥr-ul-Ḥaḳā'iḳ* (p. 63), *Tafsīr-i-Sullamī*, (p. 63), *Tafsīr-i-'Arā'is* (p. 64), *Tafsīr-i-Ḳubsharī* (p. 64), *Faṣl-ul-Khiṭāb* (p. 65), *Takmila* (p. 81), *Tafsīr-i-Ḥusainī* (p. 135).

This work is also valuable in another way, namely, that it gives us an insight into the relation which existed between Dārā and Mīyān Jīv and Mullā Shāh. He first meets Mīyān Jīv in the company of his father, Shāhjahān, in 1043 A.H.,[1] and the immediate effect of this meeting is his complete recovery from the serious malady he had been suffering from for the last four months (pp. 38, 39). The second visit of Dārā, which was also paid in company of his father[2], produces a still greater effect on him. He goes bare-footed to the upper storey of Mīyān Jīv's house and, out of reverence to the saint, gathers the chewed clove thrown away by him. Next, he goes to him alone and pays him homage by placing his hands at his feet (p. 41). This opened the portals of Divine mysteries on Dārā and Mīyān Mīr pronounced him to be his "very life and vision," (p. 42). And it was through the kindness of Mīyān Mīr that Dārā received lessons in *Mushāhida* (or, Beholding of God) and also witnessed the *Lailat-ul-Ḳadr*, on the 27th Ramaḍān, 1050 A.H. The relations that existed between Dārā and his spiritual guide, Mullā Shāh, were more intimate and endured up to the latter's death, in 1072 A.H. It is impossible to reproduce even in brief the many personal reminiscences of Dārā's relations with Mullā Shāh which the

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[1] The interview took place on the 17th Shawwāl, 1043 A.H. (see *Badshāhnāma*, vol. I, part ii, p. 12 and *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā*, pp. 38, 39).

[2] This interview took place on the 8th Rajab, 1044 A.H. (see *Bādshāhnāma*, vol. I, part ii, p. 65 and *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā*, p. 39).

former has recorded in the *Sakīna*, but the following extract from the letters which the latter wrote to Dārā may serve to show the esteem in which the prince was held by his *Pīr* and *Murshid*. He writes: " .. I repose much trust in your wisdom and understanding .." (Letter No. 1, p. 140). "You are well informed of divine mysteries .." (Letter No. 3, p. 141). .... "O! temporal and spiritual King .." (Letter No. 9, p. 147), etc.

Moreover, Mullā Shāh has written a special *Ghazal* in which he has exalted the spiritual attainments of Dārā Shikūh. He writes[1]:—

> The first and the second *Ṣāḥib Ḳirān* (namely Amīr Tīmūr and Shāhjahān) are the kings of grandeur, (while) our Dārā Shikūh is the *Ṣāḥib Ḳirān* of heart.
>
> From the universe, the provision of the two worlds, he has brought under his grip on account of the merchandise of his heart.

We also learn from the *Sakinat-ul-Awliyā* that Mullā Shāh had asked Dārā to impart spiritual instructions to the *murīds*; but the *'Ulamā* who were known to Dārā dissuaded him from doing so (p. 135). He took omen from the *Ḳur'ān* which was favourable to him but it appears that he never actually engaged himself in imparting spiritual instructions. Mullā Shāh exhorted Dārā, on the eve of his departure to Kashmīr, "to advise the companions (*yārs*) as he was the wisest among them"; and Dārā, in his turn, requested him to pray for his future salvation (p. 138). It also appears that Mullā Shāh was of opinion that the propagation of the *Ḳādirī* mission in India would take place at the hands of the prince (p. 139). Of the religious exercises in which Dārā engaged himself, there is one which deserves special mention, namely, his exercise of restraining the breath. He writes, "One day he (Mullā Shāh) said that the exercise of restraining the breath which prevails in our order is absent from all others, and is extremely difficult to perform. He taught me the method which is peculiar to this order. Of the exercises in which I engaged myself in the beginning (of my spiritualistic

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[1] *Sakinat-ul-Awliyā*, Curzon Collection, No. 443, fol. 83b:

صاحبقران اوّل و ثاني قرين حشمت اند   داراشكوه ما شده صاحبقران دل

آخر ز كائنات متاع دو كَون را   كرد او بدست خود ز متاع دكان دل

career), this is one and, as a result, I could pass the whole night, whether it be long or short, in two breaths and, at times, my condition became such as if my life was going to be extinct."

3. *Risāla-i-Ḥaḳ Numā*, or 'the Compass of the Truth,' is the third work of Dārā Shikūh. It is a small tract of some thirty pages[1] dealing with the various stages of spiritual development and discussing the ways and means of reaching the highest pitch of spiritual perfection. The prince writes in the introduction that "none should read this *Risāla* unless he has got the companionship of some perfect (divine)" (p. 6). Further, he adds that this tract is a compendium of *Futūḥāt*, *Fuṣūṣ-ul-Ḥikam*, *Lawā'iḥ*, *Lama'āt*, *Lawāmi'* and other works of Ṣūfism and expects that "if this tract is examined by a man of God, he will justly remark what a (wonderful) gate of Divine inspiration has been opened to this *faḳīr* and that God has, inspite of his being in this garb (of a prince), opened to him the portals of saintliness and divine knowledge; so that human beings may know that His favour is without any (particular) cause. He draws towards Himself whomsoever He likes, in whatever garb he be. This wealth (of Divine knowledge) is not bestowed on every one but has been bestowed specially on *him*." (p. 6). Dārā goes on speakin this strain. He says that his first work, *Safīna*, was a composition of the period of quest (after a perfect divine) and his second, *Sakīna*, was written after he had reached the companionship of such a divine and had learnt from him "the paths of *Sulūk* and the *Maḳāmāt* (or the stages of the Ṣūfīs)," (p. 7). Lastly, he says, "Now that the gates of *Tawḥīd* (Divine Unity) and '*Irfān* (Divine knowledge) have been opened to him by God, the Most Holy and High, and He has bestowed on him His special gifts and bounties, he records them in this tract." (p. 7). Dārā further speaks (p. 5) that he has uniformly named a book by taking omens from the Holy *Ḳur'ān*. He writes "In all my compositions I have followed the practice of taking omens from the Holy *Ḳur'ān* and naming them at the Divine instance. It had come to my mind to name this tract, *Ḥaḳ Numā*, (or, the Compass of the Truth) and, when I took omen, the following Holy verse, which unmistakably points to this tract being a guide to truth and also to its greatness, came out":

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[1] Lithographed at the Nawal Kishūr Press, Lucknow, 1910. It has also been translated into English and published by the Panini Office, Allahabad.

وَ لَقَدْ آتَيْنَا مُوسَى الْكِتٰبَ مِنْ بَعْدِ مَآ اَهْلَكْنَا الْقُرُونَ الْاُوْلٰى وَ بَصَآئِرَ لِلنَّاسِ
وَ هُدًى وَّ رَحْمَةً لَّعَلَّهُمْ يَتَذَكَّرُونَ *

And certainly We gave Moses the Book after We had destroyed the former generations, clear arguments for men and a guidance and a mercy, that they may be mindful (Ch. xxviii: 43).

The tract is divided into six *fasls* (or, sections) dealing with the four worlds of *Nāsūt*, or, the Human World (pp. 8, 9); the *Malakūt*, or, the Invisible World (p. 9–21); the *Jabarūt*, or, the Highest Heaven (p. 21-22); and *Lāhut*, or the World of Divinity (p. 22). The fifth *fasl* deals with *Hawīyat* or Divine Essence and the sixth is a continuation of the same discussion. The author concludes the work by quoting one of his quatrains which shows that the tract was completed in 1056 A.H. and that it was written under inspiration:

"The whole of this tract is a compass of the Truth,
and was completed in the year *one thousand and fifty-six.*
Consider this to be the work of *Ḳādir* (i.e. the Absolute) and not
of *Ḳādirī* (i.e. Dārā Shikūh),
Understand whatever I have said, and peace be on thee."

4. *Shaṭḥiyāt*, or *Ḥasanāt-ul-'Ārifīn*, is a collection of Ṣūfic aphorisms containing the ecstatic utterances of the mystics, which seemingly appear to be in direct contravention of the orthodox doctrines of Islām. The author says in the introduction that his mystic utterances and the expression of higher truths in moments of ecstasy gave rise to serious objections from interested quarters. He writes [1]:

"As I had become dissatisfied with the current books of the men of the Path, and at times used to utter words containing the highest truth, in my ecstatic states, and some ill-natured and insincere people, out of shallow knowledge, began to taunt and accuse me of heresies, it struck me that I should collect sayings called Shataḥat of high-souled and eminent men of sanctity as authorities for my professions, to convince those who are imbued with the spirit of Dajjāl instead of that of Christ or with that of Pharoah instead of that of Moses or with that

[1] I quote the English translation, or rather the paraphrase, given by Pandit Sheo Narain, in the *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 28, 29.

of Abū Jahl instead of that of a Muhammad. Some sayings had been, no doubt, collected by one Bukli [1], but as they were in allegorical style, I have added more, and simplified the language so that it may be properly understood."

A perusal of the above extract will make it abundantly clear that Dārā had reached a very high stage of spiritual life and, if we take his statement to be correct, there is no gainsaying that he indulged in such ecstatic effusions as are the exclusive privilege of those alone who are spiritually perfect. He has boldly supported his aphorisms and utterances by writing this work, which not only embodies the ecstatic utterances of the various divines and mystics—such as Bāyazīd, Dhun Nūn al-Miṣrī, Sahl b. 'Abdullāh at-Tustarī, Abū Sa'īd Kharrāz, Junaid al-Baghdādī, Ruwaim, Abū Bakr Wāsiṭī, Aḥmad-i-Ghazzālī, 'Abdul Ḳādir al-Jīlānī, Ibn al-'Arabī and others—but also of Prophet Muḥammad, the four Orthodox Caliphs and Imām Zain al-'Ābidīn and Imām Ja'far-i-Ṣādiḳ. Dārā concludes by saying that some truth-seekers had asked him to embody in this work his own *Shaṭḥ*, or aphorisms, but he replied by saying, "My *Shaṭḥ* is that all the *Shaṭḥs* contained in this work are mine." This is certainly a very bold statement and may be said to do credit to the prince.

It appears from the introduction that Dārā Shikūh undertook to write this work in 1062 A.H., when he was 28 years of age (p. 1),[2] and actually completed it on Monday, the last day of Rabī' al-Awwal, 1064 A.H., (p. 64). His conclusion is interesting as it gives us an insight into his mental attitude. He writes (p. 64): "He is fortunate who finds taste in these matters, and is benefited by them and considers himself a sincere devotee of theirs (i.e. the Ṣūfīs) and engages himself in such pursuits. God, the Generous, has said, 'We did not create the Jin and the human beings except for devotion.' All the erotic and esoteric commentators of the *Ḳur'ān* have explained devotion by the word '*Irfān* (or, Divine knowledge). Hence, nothing is better than *Tawḥīd* (monotheism) and *Ma'rifat* (Divine knowledge)...."

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[1] The learned Pandit has wrongly read *Baḳlī* (بقلی) as *Bukli*. It is part of the name of Shaikh Rūzbahān Baḳlī, the well-known saint, whose life Dārā has noticed on p. 176 of his *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā* (d. 606 A.H.).

[2] *Ḥasanāt-ul-'Ārifīn*, (Urdū translation) lithographed at Lahore and published by Malik Faḍluddīn, Malik Chananuddīn and Malik Tājuddīn, *Kakkay Zaiy*.

5. *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain*, or 'the Mingling of the Two Oceans,' is the fifth work of Dārā Shikūh which he completed in 1065 A.H., namely, when he was forty-two years old. As I have discussed the work more fully in subsequent pages, (pp. xxx–xxxiii, *infra.*) I need not repeat what I have stated elsewhere.

6. *Upanishads*—This is a translation of some fifty chapters of the *Upanishads*, or *Upanikhat*, entitled *Sirr-i-Akbar*,[1] made by Dārā Shikūh, in 1067 A.H., or some two years before his execution.

The chief merit of this translation lies in its simplicity and it must always be considered as one of the best specimens of easy, flowing style. I cannot do better than present to the reader a translation of the introductory pages of this work, which will give him, I believe, an adequate idea as to the reasons which prompted Dārā to undertake this work ; the pains that he took to read the Old and the New Testaments, the Psalms of David and other Scriptures ; his disappointment at not finding in these scriptures a true solution of the problem of *Tawḥīd* ; and, finally, getting his heart's desire in the *Upanishads*.

He writes[2] : "Praise be to the Self which has made the dot on the letter *bi* (ب) of *Bismillāh*, (in the name of God), an eternal secret in all the revealed books ; and *Al-Ḥamd* which is *Omul-kitāb*, in the Holy *Ḳur'ān*, is a reference to His Great Name (*Ism-i-A'ẓam*), in which are included all the angels, Heavenly Books, Prophets and Apostles. *Preface* : Now, thus sayeth, this griefless *faḳīr*, Muḥammad Dārā Shikūh, that when he visited the Paradise-like Kashmir, in 1050, he had, through Divine grace and His boundless mercy, occasion to become a disciple of Mullā Shāh ...... As he had an ardent desire for seeing the God-knowing devotees of the various 'orders' and hear their high utterances regarding monotheism, he had read the various works on mysticism and had himself composed tracts, but, inspite of this, his thirst for understanding *Tawḥīd*, which is a vast ocean, was increasing more and more.

[1] Anquetil Duperron, 'the famous French traveller and discoverer of the Zend Avesta,' translated the *Upanishads* into French (not published) and into Latin, from the Persian translation made by Dārā Shikūh. It was published in two volumes in 1801 and 1802. (See the *Upanishads*, translated by Max Müller in the *Sacred Books of the East Series*, Vol. I, p. lviii.)

[2] *Sirr-i-Akbar*, (A.S.B. Curzon Collection, No. II, 154), fols. 1b, 2a, b, 3a, b, and 4a. See also J.A.S.B., (New Series), Vol. XIX, No. 7, pp. 242 to 244 and 250 to 252.

New problems were coming to his mind, the solution of which was impossible without a reference to the sayings of God or without (quoting) an authority from His Omniscient Self. Moreover, there were many secrets concealed in the Holy *Ḳur'ān* and the Sacred Book, whose interpreter it was difficult to find. So, he (i.e. the author) desired to read all the revealed Books, for the utterances of God elucidate and explain one another. It may be that in one place it is found in compendium, while in others it may be given in detail; and, as such, the compendium may be understood by the help of the detailed. I read the Old and the New Testaments and the Psalms of David and other scriptures but the discourse on *Tawḥīd* found in them was brief and in a summary form and, from the easy translations which have been made by interested persons, the object could not be realized. . . . ."

Further, the author says that he examined the religious works of the Hindūs, "who do not negate monotheism," and found that the monotheistic verses contained in the four *Vedas* have been collected and elucidated in the *Upanikhat*, which is an ocean of monotheism. So he undertook a literal and correct translation of the work with the help of the Pandits and the Sanyāsīs of Benares and accomplished the work in 1067 A.H. He says: "Any difficult problem or sublime idea that came to his mind and was not solved inspite of his best efforts, becomes clear and solved with the help of this ancient work, which is undoubtedly the first heavenly Book and the fountain-head of the ocean of monotheism, and, in accordance with or rather an elucidation of the *Ḳur'ān*. And this *verse* appears to have been revealed for this very ancient book:

انه لقرآن كريم في كتب مكنون لا يمسه الا المطهرون - تنزيل من رب
العلمين * (Ch. LVI : 77, 78, 79.)

It is ascertainable that the above verse does not refer to the Psalms, the Pentateuch and the Gospels, nor to the Secret Tablet (*Lawḥ-i-Maḥfūẓ*), as the word *tanzīl* cannot be applied to the latter. Now, as *Upanikhat* is a hidden secret .. and the actual verses of the *Ḳur'ān* can be found in it, it is certain that the hidden book (or, *kitāb-i-maknūn*) is a reference to this very ancient book. This *Faḳīr* has known unknown things and understood un-understood problems through the medium

of this book. And (he) had no other object in view (in translating this work) except that he would be personally benefited or that his issues, friends and the seekers of the Truth would gather its fruits. The graced one who, having set aside the promptings of passion, and casting off all prejudice, will read and understand this translation,—which is entitled *Sirr-i-Akbar* (or, the Great Secret)—will consider it to be Divine utterance, he will have no anxiety or fear or grief and will be helped and fortified with Divine grace ....."

7. *Bhāgvat Gītā.*—The Persian translation of this well-known Sanskrit work is ascribed to Dārā Shikūh in the manuscript copy (No. 1949) preserved in the India Office Library. Dr. Ethé is of opinion [1] that Dārā Shikūh and not Abul Faḍl, as wrongly asserted by Dr. Rieu,[2] is the author of the work. In view of the categorical statement made by Dr. Ethé it is difficult to discredit his statement. The translation does not bear any date but most probably it was not made before 1067 A.H., namely, the year in which Dārā translated the *Upanishads.*

To the above list we may add the following works, which are, more or less, of a fragmentary character :—

8. I learn from the *Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib,*[3] an extremely valuable biography of Persian poets, that Dārā Shikūh had compiled a *Bayāḍ*, or Anthology, which was used by the author of *Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib* in compiling his *Tadhkira.* It is unfortunate, however, that even a single copy of the *Bayāḍ* cannot be traced in any of the Oriental libraries. It is needless to add that had the *Bayāḍ* been available it must have thrown some light on the poetical taste of the prince and might also have enabled us to gather some more verses of the prince.

9. Dārā Shikūh is also the author of a large number of letters which are of no mean literary importance. The *Fayyāḍ-ul-Ḳawānīn* [4]

[1] *Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the Library of the India Office,* Vol. I, column, 1089.

[2] *Catalogue of Pers. MSS. in the British Museum,* Vol. I, p. 39.

[3] MS. copy in the Oriental Public Library, Patna, (No. 239 of the *Hand-list*), p. 3.

[4] The *Fayyāḍ-ul-Ḳawānīn* is a valuable collection of a large number of letters divided into *three* books: "(i) Letters of kings and princes, (ii) Letters from nobles to each other and to kings and princes, and (iii) miscellaneous letters." (Sarkar's *Aurangzib,* ii, p. 315). Copies of this work are extremely rare but I was fortunate

contains some eight letters written by the prince to Shāh Muḥammad Dilrubā, Shaikh Muḥibbullāh of Allahabad and others, asking from them an explanation of certain abstruse points of *Taṣawwuf*. I have also come across a number of letters, ascribed to him in certain books of *Inshā* and also in *Majmūa's*, or the fragmentary collection of small tracts, etc.

10. In the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, (No. 701 of Blochet's Catalogue), there is a MS. copy of *Nigāristān-i-Munīr*, which contains, at the end, the Introduction of a *Murakkaʻ*, (or, Album), which was, as the compiler's note indicates, dictated by Dārā Shikūh. It is not known as to whether the Album was arranged by the Prince himself or that it belonged to some one else who asked him to write the Introduction. It may also be possible that this introduction in *Nigāristān* is of the same Album which Dārā presented to his "nearest and dearest wife," Nādira Begam, in 1051 A.H. (=1641-2 A.D.).

Besides the above works, of which the first four have been printed and the last three are in manuscript, there are other works ascribed to the authorship of Dārā which have not been traced so far. However, if an attempt is made at their identification and the statements of the various authors, who have ascribed hitherto untraced works to Dārā, are verified in the light of modern research it will, I hope, shed more light on the life and works of this prince. I append, herewith, a list of such works as are said to have been written by Dārā but have not, so far as I know, been traced in any of the important libraries of the East or the West :—

1. *Risāla-i-Maʻārif*.—This is said to be a tract on, as its name indicates, the doctrines of mysticism. The author of *Khazīnat-ul-Aṣfiyā* [1] (vol. I, p. 175) ascribes its authorship to Dārā Shikūh. Muḥammad Laṭīf, in his *Lahore* [2], has also included it in the list of Dārā Shikūh's works but the latter appears to have only copied it from the *Khazīna*.

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in examining a MS. copy of the above work. I have taken down a transcription of the letters of Dārā Shikūh which I propose to publish sometime later. Two of the above letters are included in a MS. copy of *Safīna-i-Baḥr-ul-Muḥīṭ*, preserved in the Berlin Library (Pertsch, pp. 40, 45). Another letter which Dārā Shikūh wrote in 1055 A.H. (=1645 A.D.) is preserved in MS. No. 56 of the above library (Pertsch, p. 115) and a letter to Sarmad was published in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1923.

[1] By Muftī Ghulām Sarwar of Lahore (Lucknow, 1874).

[2] Laṭīf's *Lahore* (1892), p. 64.

2. *Nādir-un-Nikāt.*—Dr. Ethé[1] has ascribed this work to Dārā Shikūh but has quoted no authority in favour of his assertion. It is not improbable, however, that *Nādir-un-Nikāt* is only another name of *Risāla-i-Ḥaḳ Numā*, for a manuscript copy of the latter tract (in the A.S.B. Curzon Collection) bears the former title. It is equally probable that *Nādir-un-Nikāt* and *Mukālima-i-Bābā Lāl wa Dārā Shikūh*[2] (of which I will speak later) are identical, for a manuscript copy of the latter work preserved in the O.P. Library[3] bears the title of *Makhzan-i-Nikāt*, which is closely allied to *Nādir-un-Nikāt*. It is, however, difficult to choose between the two probables.

3. *Mathnawī.*—It appears from the *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society* (vol. II, No. I)[4] that a Persian *Mathnawī* said to have been composed by this prince, is mentioned in the *Makhzan*, a monthly magazine of Lahore (September, 1907).

4. It is stated in the above *Journal* that Dārā Shikūh is reported to have written an autobiography, but, so far, I have found no mention of such a work in the books I have consulted in connection with the life of this prince.

Dārā Shikūh as a Poet.

So far, we have described only the prose works of Dārā Shikūh or such other works as have been ascribed to his authorship but have not, as far as I know, been traced anywhere. Now we may discuss briefly the merits of Dārā as a poet. But, I must state at the outset, that the materials for such a discussion are very scanty. We know from authoritative sources that Dārā Shikūh composed a *Dīwān*, entitled *Iksīr-i-A'ẓam*, which, according to the author of *Khazīnat-ul-Aṣfiyā*, contained "a mine of information regarding *Tawḥīd*," and was actually perused by him. It is a pity, however, that such a valuable *Dīwān* has not, as yet, found room in the well-known libraries of the East or the West, nor has seen the light of print. I was pleased to see an announcement in the *Nigār*, (an Urdū monthly of Bhūpāl), that the *Dīwān* of

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[1] *Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the India Office Library*, vol. I, p. 275.

[2] *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, vol. II, No. I, p. 27.

[3] Pandit Sheo Narain's article on 'Dārā Shikūh as an author,' in the *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, vol. II, No. I, p. 26.

[4] Ibid, p. 25.

Dārā Shikūh has been discovered and that full particulars regarding this valuable manuscript will be published in a subsequent issue of the magazine. I waited for two years but no such description of the manuscript appeared. Finally, I wrote to the editor of the magazine who informed me, in reply, that the owner of the manuscript had left for England and I must wait till his return. Hence, my disappointment. I also found an announcement in the price-list of Hājī Jān Muḥ. Allāh Bakhsh Ganā'ī, the well-known book-sellers of Lahore, that the Quatrains of Dārā Shikūh (رباعیات داراشکوه) are in the course of print. It is more than two years since I saw the announcement and I have been asked by the publishers to wait for some months more !

It is difficult to hazard any opinion regarding the contents of the *Dīwān*, nor it is possible to say whether the *Quatrains*, which are said to be in the course of publication at Lahore, are included in the *Dīwān*, or the *Mathnawī*, which has been ascribed to him, is also included in it. Such questions can only be answered on the publication of the *Dīwān* or a list of its contents. For the time being, at least, we are to be contented with some 25 quatrains and a few *Ghazals* only, which have either been quoted by Dārā in his prose-works or have been, ascribed to him in the various *Tadhkiras*.

The largest number of *Quatrains*, totalling more than 20 [1], are quoted by Dārā in his *Ḥasanāt-ul-'Ārifīn* and only a few more can be found in all his remaining works. Hence, it is apparent that the materials, as I have stated before, are very scanty. But we are to judge their value by their quality and not by their quantity. We find, that Dārā's verses were appreciated in his own life-time. The following appreciation from the pen of Mullā Shāh, who was himself an accomplished poet, will serve to convey an idea as to Dārā being a poet of no ordinary merit : [2]

" All the excellences are under the subjugation of an *'Ārif*, and this is well-established that he (also) possesses (some degree) of harmonious-

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[1] I have calculated this number from my manuscript copy of *Ḥasanāt*, and have taken only such quatrains about which the author has distinctly mentioned that they are his composition. A perusal of other manuscripts may either increase or reduce this number.

[2] Mullā Shāh's letter to Dārā Shikūh in *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā*, p. 144.

ness. What to say of your incomparable and heart-pleasing verses. How sweet fruits cannot be borne by this pure clay ?"

We learn from the *Tadhkiras* that Dārā had adopted the *Takhalluṣ*, or *nom de plume*, of *Ḳādirī*, which testifies to his sincere devotion to the *Ḳādirī* order. *Sarkhush*, who wrote his *Kalimāt-ush-Shu'arā* only twenty-one years after the execution of Dārā, speaks of him in the following words[1] :—

> "Muḥammad Dārā Shikūh styled as "*Shāh-i-Baland Iḳbāl*," the heir-apparent of Shāhjahān Pādshāh, was a prince of good disposition, fine imagination and handsome appearance. He had patience ; led the life of a Ṣūfī, was a friend of the devotees, and was also an Unitarian and a philosopher. He had a noble mind and a far-reaching intelligence. He expressed Ṣūfistic ideas in *Quatrains* and *Ghazals* and, in view of his adherence to the *Ḳādirī* order, adopted the pen-name of *Ḳādirī*."

Then, the author proceeds to narrate a story showing Dārā's forbearance towards one of the buffoons of his court who had made a very impertinent joke at the expense of the prince.

The author concludes the notice of Dārā with the following remarks :—

> "He has written excellent Ṣūfistic works and has solved difficult problems therein. A small *Dīwān* of his verses has been collected."

The same author, while giving an account of Mīrzā Raḍī, *Dānish*, who came to India in the reign of Shāhjahān, writes :—

> "Dārā Shikūh, having appreciated this verse[2] of his, selected it as *Miṣra'-i-Ṭaraḥ* :

تاک را سرسبز دارای ابر نیسان در بهار
قطرهٔ تا مي مي تواند شد چرا گوهر شود

Every one composed verses according to his liking. The prince also wrote a verse :[3]

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[1] Afḍaluddīn *Sarkhush* wrote his *Tadhkira* in 1090 A.H.

[2] Fol. 58 b. of my manuscript copy.

[3] The story is given on fols. 58b and 59a of my manuscript copy. The author of *Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib* (p. 682, O.P. Library copy) writes that four poets,

سلطنت سهل است خود را آشنای فقر کن
قطرهٔ تا دریا تواند شد چرا گوهر شود

"Kingship is easy; make thyself familiar with the ways of asceticism,
(For), if a drop can be the ocean why should it (then) be the pearl."

I cannot do better than quote some of his verses, from certain *Tadhkiras*, and leave them to the readers to pass their own judgment on the same; but, I would ask them to keep in mind the fact that the verses were written at a time when the grandeur and magnificence of the Mughal court had reached the highest pitch of perfection and, in the midst of that mirth and merry-making, there was the heir-apparent who did think of the Transcendent and rise above the gross materialism of his day to the planes of higher spiritualism. He writes:

هر خم و پیچی که شد از تاب زلف یار شد
دام شد تسبیح شد زنجیر شد زنّار شد

تا دوست رسیدیم چو از خویش بریدیم
از خویش گذشتن چه مبارک سفری بود

مردم شدم تاکه بقرآن گشتم
عارف شدم و ز خویش عریان گشتم
پیدا کردی مرا و لیکن من هم
پیدا کردم ترا و قربان گشتم

بخیه بر خرقهٔ فنا کیشان   موج آبِ حیات را مانَد

---

including the prince, had written verses in reply (جواب) to the above verse of *Faiḍī*. I think, the biographer is wrong in ascribing the authorship of the verse to *Faiḍī* as it is not included in his *Dīwān*.

Dārā Shikūh and the Fine Arts.

Dārā Shikūh was a lover of the fine arts. He studied Caligraphy with Āḳā 'Abdur Rashīd ad-Dailamī, the well-known Caligrapher at the court of Shāhjahān and the last great scribe of *Nasta'līḳ*. The author of *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawīsān*[1] states that Dārā wrote a very good hand in *Nasta'līḳ* and was the best pupil of Āḳa Rashīd. He adds that none of the pupils of the Āḳā excelled him in fine penmanship. It may be added that there is a painting in the collection of Mr. A. Ghose of Calcutta in which Dārā Shikūh is depicted as taking his lessons in Caligraphy from the Āḳā.[2] Besides *Nasta'līḳ*, Dāra also wrote a very good hand in *Naskh*, and the specimens of his Caligraphy preserved in the various Oriental Libraries prove conclusively that he excelled both in *Naskh* and *Nasta'līḳ*.[3] He was also a great admirer of paint-

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[1] By Ghulām Muḥammad, *Haft Raḳam*, (Bib. Indica), p. 54.

[2] The painting has been reproduced in the *Calcutta Review*, March, 1925.

[3] I know of the following autographs of Dārā Shikūh preserved in the various libraries of Europe and India :—

(1) *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā*, (Oriental Public Library, Patna, MS. No. 673) bearing the following note in the hand-writing of Dārā Shikūh :—

هذا كتاب سفينة الاوليا حررة محمد دارا شكوه حنفي قادري ١٠٥٠ *

Khān Bahādur 'Abdul Muḳtadir (*Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the Oriental Public Library*, Patna, Vol. VIII, pp. 47, 48) is of opinion that the MS. has been collated by Dārā Shikūh, as the marginal notes indicate, and not copied by him, as is generally asserted.

(2) *Ḳur'ān*, written on deer skin in 1051 A.H., bearing the following note at the colophon :—

كتبه بندهٔ آثم داراشكوه بن شاهجهان بادشاه غازي در مقام شاهجهان آباد ١٠٥٠ اه *

Shams-ul-'ulamā Ḥāfiẓ Nadhīr Aḥmad, who examined the MS. in the 'Azīz Bāgh Library, Hyderabad (Deccan), gives the following account of the MS. in the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, (New Series, 1917, p. xc.): "The verses of the *Ḳur'ān* are written throughout in gold. The headings are illuminated with fine floral designs and the copy is beautifully illuminated throughout. The MS. is carefully preserved in a splendid binding."

(3) *Panjsūra*, written in a learned *Naskh* in gold. The MS. formerly belonged to the Būhār Library, (Imperial Library), Calcutta, but is now deposited with the Trustees of the Victoria Memorial Hall, Cal-

ings and a good judge of their technique and value. The Album which he presented to his "nearest and dearest wife." Nādira

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cutta (See *Catalogue Raisonne of Persian MSS. in the Būhār Library*, p. viii.)

(4) *Dah Pand-i-Arasṭū*, in fine, clear *Nasta'līḳ*, within gold-ruled borders preserved in the Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta.

(5) *Risāla-i-Ḥikmat-i-Arasṭū*, copied by the prince in 1041 A.H. and now preserved in the Āṣifīya Library, Hyderabad (Deccan). (See the Urdū *Hand-list* of the Library, Vol. II, pp. 1770, 1771.)

(6) *Sharḥ-i-Dīwān-i-Ḥāfiẓ*, (by Saifuddīn Abul Ḥasan 'Abdur Raḥmān) defective at the beginning. The date of transcription is not given in the Urdū *Hand-list* (Vol. 1, pp. 738, 739) of the Āṣifīya library, where the MS. is at present.

(7) A note on the fly-leaf of an autograph copy of a *Mathnawī* of Bahāuddīn Sulṭān Walad, son of the well-known Jālāluddīn Rūmī. The MS. belonged to the Government of India and was noticed in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1870. p. 251, but, unfortunately, is, now, no longer in the Government (Curzon) Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. H. Blochmann published a facsimile of the Autograph-note of Dārā Shikūh in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1870, p. 272, which runs as follows :—

هو القادر

مثنوي سلطان ولد

بخط مبارک ایشان

راقمه محمد دارا شکوه

Blochmann has, due to an oversight, read هو القهار for هو القادر

(8) A *Waṣlī* exhibited at the Sixth Session of the *Nadwat-ul-'Ulamā* held at Benares, in 1906. See (*An-Nadwa*, Vol. III, No. 4.).

(9) A *Waṣlī* exhibited at the Second Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Lahore, 1920. (See p. xxii of the *Proceedings* of the Commission).

(10) A *Waṣlī* in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, dated 1046 A.H. (=1636 A.D.). (See Sachau and Ethé's *Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the Bodleian Library*, Vol. I, Column No. 1090.)

(11) If appears from one of the Letters of Shiblī Nu'mānī, a well-known Urdū scholar, that Dr. Sir E. Denison Ross had, in his possession, an autograph of Dārā Shikūh (See *Makātib-i-Shiblī*, Vol. II, p. 241).

(12) *Waṣlī* exhibited at the Fourth Meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Delhi, 1922. (See the *Proceedings* of the Commission, Vol. IV, p. 107 and *Memoirs* of the Arch. Sur. of India, No. 29, p. 12.)

Begam[1] and which bears the following inscription in his own handwriting :—

"This album was presented to his nearest and dearest friend, the Lady Nadira Begum by Prince Muhammad Dārā Shukoh, son of the Emperor Shahjahān in the year 1051 (1641-2 A.D.)"[2], is one of the most valuable treasures of the Mughal Art.

Principal Percy Brown in his admirable *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, while discussing the value and importance of the Album, observes :—

"As a criterion of the artistic taste of a cultivated Mughal prince this *Muraqqa'* is of interest ; it shows that its original owner, while attracted by weak prettiness in some of his selections, was on the whole a good judge of a miniature and had gathered his examples with care."

And, Cecil L. Burns, describing the Album in an illuminating article in the *Times of India Annual*, 1925, writes :—

"What the Koh-i-Noor is to other eastern diamonds, surely this richly bound volume in wrought leather, containing miniatures by Persian, Central Asian and Mughal artists, and specimens of Caligraphy of the highest quality of the penman's and painter's art, must be to any other volume of a similar character............ The album is

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(13) An autograph-note on the valuable Album which Dārā Shikūh presented to his "nearest and dearest wife," Nādira Begam, in 1051 A.H.

It may be added, here, that an ornamented and illuminated copy of the *Ḳur'ān* which, it is believed, was actually used by Dārā Shikūh, is now in the collection of Nawwāb Ḥusāmuddīn Ḥaidar of Comilla. The author of *Safar Nāma-i-Maẓharī* (late Ḥājī Maẓhar 'Alīm Anṣārī Rūdawlawī) gives us the following particulars regarding the copy :— 'Nawwāb Ḥusām Ḥaidar Ṣāḥib showed me a MS. copy of the *Ḳur'ān* which was illuminated and ornamented with gold. It is written by a Persian scribe on thick, fine paper. The size is folio. My eyes were brightened on seeing the MS. It was this very *Ḳur'ān* from which Dārā Shikūh read daily. It bears his seal. The Nawwāb Ṣāḥib got the MS. from a European lady. It is a unique copy of the *Ḳur'ān*. (p. 98 of the *Safar Nāma*).

[1] India Office Library R. and L. 944-1908.

[2] Smith (V. A.), *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, (Oxford, 1911) pp. 457, 458. For a description of the Album see Percy Brown's *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, (1925), pp. 94, 95 ; *The Times of India Annual* 1925.

similar to such an one as Vasaris, the great biographer of the Renaissance in Italy, prepared of the drawings of the artists of that period. ......All are of the highest quality, of the schools represented, and afford a striking testimony to the knowledge and taste of the Prince who selected them."

Works written at the Instance of Dārā.

In addition to the works which are Dārā's own composition, there is a large number of books which have either been written at his instance, or have been dedicated to him as a tribute to his patronage of such authors. The number of the works of former class cannot be expected to be large but the works of the latter class are numerous and, as such, it will not be possible to notice all of them. Moreover, the identification of all such books has not been complete. I will, therefore, enumerate only the more important ones of this class.

Now, let us discuss the works of the former class :—

(1) *Mukālima-i-Dārā S͟hikūh wa Bābā Lāl*—contains a summary of the questions that were asked by Dārā S͟hikūh on the various topics of Hindū religion and ascetic life and the replies that were given to them by Bābā Lāl, a Hindū devotee of the Panjāb. It appears, from the investigations made by Pandit Sheo Narain,[1] that Bābā Lāl, actually named Lāl Dayāl, was a Khatrī of Ḳaṣūr, who lived at his *Asthān*, at Dhiānpūr near Batāla. Dārā S͟hikūh intended to go to him, as he was a friend of Mīyān Jīv, but the saint himself came down to Lahore, where Dārā conversed with him.[2] It is, however, difficult to fix the actual date of these conversations; for there is no internal evidence, except one perhaps, to give us a clue to ascertain this point. From the seventh and the last sitting it can be ascertained that these conversations took place after Dārā's return from the expedition to Ḳandhār, in 1062 A.H.

In his *Ḥasanāt-ul-ʻĀrifīn*, which he completed in 1064 A.H., Dārā has included the name of Bābā Lāl—the only Hindū whose aphorisms he has quoted. He writes (p. 40):

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[1] In his "Dārā S͟hikūh as an author" (*Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 27, 28).

[2] Pandit Sheo Narain writes that he has found a manuscript copy of Bābā Lāl's biography, from which he has taken the above details.

"Bābā Lāl *Mandīya* is one of the perfect '*Ārifs*, and I have seen none in the Hindū community who is equal to him in majesty and firmness. He told me, 'There are '*Ārifs* and perfect (divines) in every community through whose grace God grants salvation to that community'[1]. . . . ."

In the *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain* also, (p. 24), Dārā has put down the name of this saint, whom he calls Bābā Lāl *Bairāgī*, by the side of those Muḥammadan saints and divines who have been the best representatives of the Ṣūfī order in Islām. The inclusion of the name of a Hindū in such an exclusive list of Muslim divines shows unmistakably the high esteem in which this devotee was held by Dārā Shikūh.

Hence, it is not surprising that Dārā did invite the saint and had the conversations, which passed between him and the mystic, recorded. It appears that Dārā's private Secretary, Chandar Bhān,[2] was present on the occasion of these interviews and perhaps, acting as an interpreter, took a verbatim report of the whole dialogue, from which he prepared the present book, entitled *Mukālima-i-Dārā Shikūh wa Bābā Lāl.*

In the A.S.B. (Curzon Collection 1908-1910) there is a manuscript copy of *Pūthī Ūrisī* in Persian, which contains the memoirs of Bābā Lāl and also an account of the interview which he had with Dārā Shikūh in 1059 A.H. (= 1649 A.D.)

It may be added here, that there is a painting reproduced in Binyon's *The Court Painters of the Grand Moghals*,[3] in which Dāra Shikūh is depicted as sitting by the side of Bābā Lāl. Binyon gives us the following particulars regarding the Bābā :—

"Lāl Swāmī. . . .was a Kshatriya, born in Malwa in the reign of Jahāngīr ; after having been initiated, he settled near Sirhind, in the Panjāb, where he built himself a hermitage, together with a temple, and was visited by a large number of disciples. Among those who were attracted by his teaching was Dārā Shikoh ; two learned Hindus who

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[1] In the same book (p. 44) Dārā, while quoting the aphorisms of Bābā Lāl, writes that this saint belonged to the order of Kabīr.

[2] Chandar Bhān was an inhabitant of Patyālā or of Lahore, as asserted by some. He was the *Mīr Munshī* to Dārā and was appointed in the *Dār-ul-Inshā* of Shāhjahān, in 1066 A.H., and entitled Rāi Chandar Bhān. He died in 1068 A.H., or in 1073. He left several works including *Chahār Chaman, Munshiāt-i-Brahman, Kārnāma, Guldasta, Majma'-ul-Wuzarā*, etc., and a *Diwān*.

[3] Humphrey Milford, (Oxford University Press), 1921, Plate No. XXII.

were in this prince's service have recorded, in a work entitled *Nādir-al-Nikāt*, the conversation, that took place between the Swami and the prince during seven interviews between them in the year 1649.[1] "

In another painting,[2] reproduced in the above book, the Bābā appears in a group of some twelve Indian Divines to wit, Rāy Dās, Pīpā, Nāmdīv, Sā'īn, Kamāl, Awghar, Kabīr, Pīr Machandar, Gorakh Jadrū, (?) Pīr Panth Swāmī (?), and is styled there as Lāl Swāmī. A painting was also exhibited at the second meeting of the *Indian Historical Records Commission*[3] in which Dārā Shikūh and Bābā Lāl (called there Lāldās) are shown in each other's company.

And an un-identified painting in Percy Brown's *Indian Painting under the Mughals* (Plate No. XLVI from M. Demotte's collection), also portrays, in my opinion, the meeting scene between Dārā Shikūh and Bābā Lāl Dās.[4]

(2) *Jug Bāshist*—or a Persian translation of the famous Sanskrit, *Yoga Vāsishtha*, was undertaken at the instance of Dārā Shikūh by one of his courtiers, whose name, unfortunately, we do not know. The translator says in the introduction that Prince Dārā Shikūh ordered him, in 1066 A.H., to translate the *Yoga Vāsishtha* into simple Persian, for the other translations, and more specially, the one made by Mullā Ṣūfī,[5] did not serve the purpose of the seekers of the truth. The immediate reason, however, of having the book translated was that

1 P. 82. 2 Plate No. XIX. 3 *Proceedings*, Appendix, p. XXV.

4 The dialogues have been arranged and edited by one Chiranjī Lāl and lithographed at Delhi in 1885. An Urdū translation, entitled *Asrār-i-Ma'rifat*, has also been published, some years back, by Dīwān Māyā Dās of Lahore and another, with the Persian text, and entitled *Shu'ā-i-Ma'rifat* was published by Munshī Bulākī Dās of Delhi in 1896. I have perused the second lithographed copy and am surprised to find that it differs materially from the manuscript copy preserved in the Oriental Public Library, Patna, (No. 1449 of the Hand-list of Persian MSS.). Further, a perusal of the above MS. copy reveals the fact that the work was originally composed in Hindī and then translated into Persian (fol. 1*a*). It may be added, here, that MS. copies of the *Mukālima* in the Berlin Library, (Pertsch, No. 1,081,2) and the Bodleian Library (Ethé, Column 758) agree, as appears from the first line quoted in the catalogues, with the copy in the Oriental Public Library, Patna. Since the above was in type, an excellent text of the *Mukālima*, with its French translation, has been published by Huart and Massignon in the *Journal Asiatique*, Paris, Tome CCIX, No. 2.

5 In A.S.B. Collection MS. No. 158, the name of the translator is Shaikh Ṣūfī.

both Vāsiṣtha and Rām Chandar appeared, one night, before Dārā Shikūh in dream; the former asking Rām Chandar to embrace Dārā Shikūh which he did and then again asking him, (Rām Ch.) to give some sweets to Dārā, which he took and ate. As a result of this dream it came to the mind of Dārā to have the work translated into Persian. He commanded one of his courtiers to do the work which he performed in collaboration with certain well-known Pandits of the place.

(3) *Tārikh-i-Shamshir Khānī*—an abridgement of the *Shāhnāma* made at the instance of Dārā. (See *Proceedings* of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Vol. II, p. xvii, and Pertsch, No. 708).

Of the works dedicated to Dārā I append, hereto, a list of only two:

(1) *Ṭibb-i-Dārā Shikūhī*[1]—is a big work of some 400 folios on "*the general principles of medicine and the treatment of the various diseases*" which was written by Nūruddīn Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Ain-ul-Mulk Shīrāzī. It was written about the year 1056 A.H.[2] and dedicated to Dārā Shikūh, the then heir-apparent of Shāhjahān.

(2) *Tarjuma-i-Akwāl-i-Wāsiṭī*—or a Persian translation of the sayings of the famous Ṣūfī, Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Wāsiṭī (d. C. 320 A.H., 932 A.D.), by one Ibrāhīm Miskīn who dedicated them to this prince in 1067, that is, only two years before his execution.[3]

Dārā's Religious Views.

A close examination of the works of Dārā Shikūh, in their correct chronological order, will reveal the fact that his earlier studies were purely Ṣūfistic in character and were not extended to an examination of the mystic systems of other religions. But the deeper and wider was his study the greater was the realization of the truths found in other religions and more outspoken the appreciation for them. There is no denying the fact that he must have received his education on old, orthodox lines but, nevertheless, he had the courage to cast away all prejudice and examine things in their true perspective. He writes himself in his introduction

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[1] In the Paris MS. Nos. 857–859 (*Catalogue des Manuscrits Persans*, pp. 103, 104) the MS. is entitled *'Ilājāt-i-Dārā Shikūhī.*

[2] The author writes in the introduction that he composed the work about the time Shāhjahān conquered Badakhshān, namely 1055-56 A.H.

[3] A MS. copy of the work is in the A.S.B. Library, see Ivanow's *Catalogue*, p. 612.

to the translation of the *Upanishads* that after his discipleship of Mullā Shāh, in 1050 A.H., he came in close contact with the divines of the various religions and perused the Psalms, the Gospels and the Pentateuch. This marks the beginning of Dārā's examination of the systems of various religions. But in the books and tracts which he wrote before 1062, he does not express his opinion on the various religions, or, more specially, on Hindūism. In the *Shaṭhiyāt* only (1062) we find him quoting the aphorisms of a Hindū divine, Bābā Lāl, which purports to declare that 'Truth is not the monopoly of any one religion.' The next work, in order of chronology, is the *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain*, written in 1065, in which he has expressed his views very clearly, and is definitely of opinion that in the higher planes of the realization of Truth there is no essential difference between Hindūism and Islām. Dārā knew that such an outspoken expression of opinion must be considered as sacrilegious by a large section of the members of both the communities, so he gives the note of warning and says, "I have written this book for the members of my family and have nothing to do with the common ones of both the religions." This small book is an attempt to reconcile Hindūism and Islām. The author has endeavoured to show that the conception of the Elements, God, the Senses, the Almighty, the Soul, the Communion with the Infinite, the Day of Resurrection, the Universe, the Planets and the Cycles, etc., is practically the same in Hindūism and Islām. His attempt has been mostly confined to showing the points of identity between the two religions without exalting or undermining either. He is concerned with facts and puts them *as they are*. His is rather a comparative study of Hindūism and Islām with an attempt to point out the various points on which they meet. As a student of comparative religion he has put down the points of resemblance between the two religions, however superficial they may be, and, surprisingly enough, in his zeal for establishing a close identity between them, has chosen to ignore the many points of difference. But it must be admitted, at the same time, that Dārā had not renounced his own faith and become a Hindū as is asserted by a biased section of the community. The very Introduction, which he has begun with the praise of God, the Prophet, his companions and the descendants, will belie such a presumption, and a careful perusal of the later chapters will show that he was a Muslim through-

out, believing in the saints and the mystics of Islām and calling Muhammed the 'last Prophet.'

From 1065 A.H. onwards, Dārā was more deeply interested in the study of Hindūism. In 1066 A.H., he got the *Jug Bāshist* translated into Persian. A year later he himself translated the *Upanishads* into Persian prose. About this time he also translated the *Bhāgvat Gītā* [1] or, perhaps, had it translated by one of his courtiers.

In all these works there is not the slightest indication that Dārā had renounced Islām and embraced Hindūism. He is a Muslim throughout. He is of opinion that the *Vedas* are "revealed books" but certainly this could not amount to an apostasy from Islām. He believed in the *Kur'ān* and was of opinion that "the *Vedas* were in accordance with the *Kur'ān* or rather they were an interpretation of that." Can such an opinion amount to renouncing Islām? It is for the doctors of the Faith to pronounce an opinion on the point but, to a layman like myself, it appears that no one could possibly be declared a *Kāfir* on one's simply expressing the above views. There have been many revealed books, which according to the Muslim faith have been abrogated, but, nevertheless, they can be studied profitably by one who wishes to make a higher and deeper study of religions and theological problems. So, if Dārā found in the *Vedas* an elucidation and explanation of certain abstruse problems of the *Kur'ān*, he cannot be condemned. Mirzā Jānjānān *Mazhar*, *Shahīd* (d. 1130=1717 A.D.), who was a very well-known saint of India has expressed practically the same views but he has not been condemned by any. He writes [2]: " . . . . . It appears from the ancient books of the Indians that the Divine Mercy, in the beginning of the creation of the human species, sent a Book, named the Bed (Veda), which is in four parts, in order to regulate the duties of this as well as the next world . . . . All the schools (of the Hindus) unanimously believe in the unity of the most high God; consider the world to be created; believe in the

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[1] Dr. Ethé writes in the *Catalogue of Pers. MSS. in the India Office Library* (c. 1089): "In the British Mus. copy it (i.e. *Bhagvat-Gīta*) is wrongly ascribed to Abū-al fadl; the real translator was, as a note on fol. 1a in the present copy proves, prince Dārā Shukūh"

[2] Extracts from the life and teachings of Mīrzā Mazhar, translated by the late Mawlawī 'Abdul Walī, J.A.S.B., Vol. XIX, pp. 238, 239.

destruction of the world, in the reward for good and bad conduct; on the resurrection and accountability (of conduct) . . . . . The rules and regulations of their faith are fully and well arranged. So it is evident that it had been a good religion but abrogated. In Islamic *Shar* no mention of any other abrogated religions, save Judaism and Christianity, is made; whereas many other religions have undergone the process of obliteration and affirmation (i.e. changes).

It ought to be noted that according to the holy verse (of the Qur'ān): '*And there is not a people but a warner has from among them*' and also, '*And every nation had an apostle,*' and other verses, there were prophets also in the countries of Hindustan, on whom be peace, and their account is contained in the books of the Hindus . . . . . "

If the above views cannot amount to an apostasy from Islām, it is difficult to understand how Dārā Shikūh could have been condemned for expressing practically the same views.

His works and writings are before us and, on examining them, we can only state that he was a Muslim throughout and, being a Ṣūfī himself, expressed such views, which, though appearing as revolting at first sight, cannot have amounted to an apostasy from Islām. What to say of Dārā? If one cares to examine the works and writings of the most eminent Ṣūfīs one will find that their aphorisms and paradoxes are more condemnable than those of Dārā Shikūh. We find that Manṣūr was crucified, Shihābuddīn Suhrawardī executed and Sarmad put to death, but time has vindicated their honour. Today, they are hailed as martyrs and sufferers on the Path; and such is the case with Dārā. Time has vindicated his honour and, now, he is adored and admired by a large section of the Muslims as a prince who suffered death, not as an offender against Islām, but as one who fell a victim to the Imperialistic ambitions and aspirations of his wily, *fakīr* brother.

But yet we find that Dārā Shikūh was indicted by the ecclesiasts of the court of Aurangzīb for his apostasy. According to *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, the official history of Aurangzīb, the charge against him was that "The pillars of the Canonical Law and Faith apprehended many kinds of disturbances from his life. So the Emperor, both out of necessity to protect the Holy Law, *and also for reasons of State,* considered it unlawful to allow Dārā to remain alive any longer as

a destroyer of the public peace."[1] But the above indictment is too meagre to need any comment. Anyone can choose to be the Champion of Islām and remove all those who stand in the way of the realization of his political ambitions.

Majma'-ul-Baḥrain.

This small tract is of supreme importance to a student of comparative religion as it embodies, so far as I know, the first and perhaps the last attempt of its kind to reconcile the two apparently divergent religions. It is the last original work of Dārā Shikūh and, as such, has an importance of its own. And, according to one authority,[2] it was this very work which brought about his death. It is said that this tract was laid before the ecclesiasts who declared its author a heretic and sentenced him to death, which was only too faithfully carried out by his over-zealous brother.

An examination of the concluding portion of the work will show that it was written in 1065 A.H., that is, when Dārā was 42. It appears from the Introduction that Dārā wrote this work, "according to his own inspiration and taste, for the members of his family." He declares openly, "I have nothing to do with the common folk of both the communities."

The tract begins with an Introduction and contains *twenty* sections having the following headings :—

1. The Elements.
2. The Senses.
3. The Religious Exercises.
4. The Attributes.
5. The Wind.
6. The Four Worlds.
7. The Fire.
8. The Light.
9. The Beholding of God.
10. The Names of God, the Most High.
11. The Apostleship and the Prophetship.
12. The *Barhmānd*.

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[1] Jadu Nath Sarkar's *Aurangzib*, Vol. II, p. 214.

[2] *Siyar-ul-Mutaakhkhirīn*, p. 403.

13. The Directions.
14. The Skies.
15. The Earths.
16. The Divisions of the Earth.
17. The *Barzakh*.
18. The Great Resurrection.
19. The *Mukt*.
20. The Night and the Day.

It is unfortunate that, although the MSS of *Majma'-ul-Bahrain* are not rare in the libraries in India, they are full of clerical mistakes and also contain innumerable errors both of omission and commission. I have consulted five MSS. in preparing the present text, but to my great disappointment none of them could satisfy me. There are so many variants and the Persian transliteration of Sanskrit terms or quotations from the *Ḳur'ān* are so very different that the task of the editor becomes extremely difficult and, at times, even insurmountable.

The MSS. that I have used in preparing my text are :—

(1) MS. from the Āṣifīya Library, Hyderabad, dated 9th Rabī, I, 1224 A.H., transcribed by Sayyid Gharīb 'Alī b. Sayyid Shāh 'Alī Rizā. The Librarian, Mawlawī 'Abbās Ḥusain *Kantūrī* was good enough to have it copied under his supervision. The MS. contains innumerable clerical mistakes. I have named this MS. H.

(2) A MS. from the (Khudā Bakhsh Khān) Oriental Public Library, Bankipore (No. 1450 of the Hand-list of Persian MSS. prepared by Khān Bahādur 'Abdul Muḳtadir), bearing no date of transcription nor the name of the scribe. It is a relatively better MS. than H, but, nevertheless, contains several orthographical mistakes and is not written in a clear hand. I have collated MS. H with the Oriental Public Library MS. which I name K.

(3) A MS. from the Rāmpūr State Library, dated 22nd Dhul Ḥijja, 1226 A.H., copied by Muḥammad Ḥājī Beg at the instance of Khwāja Mīr Ḳāsim. The MS. is imperfect in several ways. There are apparently spurious additions in the text which display Shīite tendencies. A perusal of the list of variants will confirm this statement.

I have got a transcription of the above MS. through Shams-ul-'ulamā M. Hidāyat Ḥusain, who, in his turn, got it, as he informs me, through the kindness of Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmad 'Alī Khān, the Librarian of the Nawwāb's Palace Library. I have named this MS. R.

(4) A MS. from the Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta, which is displayed in the shelves of the Hall, as an autograph of Dārā Shikūh. I examined the MS. carefully and found that there was no internal or external evidence to prove or even suggest that the MS. was an autograph one. The handwriting is not that of Dārā Shikūh, for it is quite different from the known autographs of the prince Moreover, there are so many omissions, inaccuracies and even mistakes of spelling that it is impossible for one to believe that it is an autograph copy of Dārā Shikūh. I have named the MS. V.

(5) MS. from the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Curzon Collection, No. 156, III, of the MS. Hand-list), which has been acquired quite recently. As the Text and Translation were already in type, I could use the MS. very sparingly. I have, however, made full use of it in preparing the list of variants. I may add here that had this MS. been available at the time of preparing my Text it would have helped me a great deal in preparing a relatively better text. I would call this MS. A.

Besides the above MSS., I have sometimes consulted the apparently unique MS. of the Arabic translation of *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain* which is preserved in the Būhār Library, (Imperial Library, Calcutta.) [1] This translation was made by one Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ b. ash-Shaikh Aḥmad al-Miṣrī, and was of much use to me in correcting the Arabic quotations, etc.

An Urdū translation of *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain*, entitled *Nūr-i-'Ain*, by one Gocul Prasād, was lithographed at Lucknow (1872), but, unfortunately, I could not secure a copy of that.

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[1] Catalogue of Arabic MSS. in the Būhār Library (Imperial Library, Calcutta), prepared by Shams-ul-'ulamā Dr. M. Hidāyat Ḥusain, pp. 150, 151.

The above description of the MSS. of *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain* will make it abundantly clear that none of them by itself could possibly have been used as the basis of a good text. So, I had no other alternative than to prepare my text by collating all the MSS. and selecting the best reading for my text. I admit that all my selections may not be approved of by my readers and they may permit of further improvement, but, with the texts that I had, I fear I could not do better.

I may add here that in preparing the list of variants I have kept in view the fact that only such variations of the text should be noted as are material and cannot possibly be ascribed to a mistake on the part of the copyist. But in order to give the reader an idea of the large number of variations, I have noted down almost all the variations found on page 5 of the printed text, which, I think, will bear a striking testimony to the idiosyncracies of the copyists.

A very difficult task which confronted me was that of identification and transliteration of Sanskrit terms which had been so mutilated in the Persian text that in many cases it became almost impossible to identify them correctly. I explained my difficulty to my friend and colleague, Dr. Surendra Nath Das-Gupta, the author of the admirable *History of Indian Philosophy*, who was good enough to go through the first few pages of my English translation. On examining my MS. translation the learned doctor suggested to me that Dārā Shikūh had made several inaccurate statements in his text and it was desirable that foot-notes were added, explaining and correcting such statements. He also promised to write the foot-notes himself, but, on account of his departure for America, he was unable to fulfil his promise. I am greatly indebted to Professor Nilmoni Chakravarti, M.A., my colleague at the Presidency College, who has very kindly identified and transliterated the Sanskrit terms. He has always helped me ungrudgingly.

I cannot conclude, without thanking Shams-ul-'ulamā Dr. M. Hidāyat Ḥusain, my teacher and colleague, who has helped me throughout and has always been willing to lay at my disposal his vast store of knowledge regarding Islāmic bibliography and *Ḳur'ānic* literature. I am also indebted to Khān Ṣāḥib 'Abdul Walī (who is, unfortunately, no longer alive) and Mawlawī Sayyid Muḥammad Ṭāhir, M.A., for their kind assistance.

My thanks are also due to Mr. A. H. Harley, M.A., Principal

Islamia College, Calcutta, and Dr. G. Kar, M.A., Ph.D., of the City College, Calcutta, who kindly revised the proof of the Introduction and the Translation.

Finally, I thank Mr. Johan van Manen, F.A.S.B., the Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, for his many valuable suggestions and for securing me the permission of the Society for the publication of this work in the *Bibliotheca Indica Series*.

M. MAHFUZ-UL-HAQ.

PRESIDENCY COLLEGE:
Calcutta.
December 1, 1928

TRANSLATION.

SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS.

TRANSLATION.

"In the name of One who hath no name. With whatever name thou callest Him, He uplifteth His Head."

Abundant praise be (showered) on the Incomparable One, who has manifested on His beautiful, unparalleled and matchless face the two parallel locks of Faith (*Īmān*) and Infidelity (*Kufr*), and by neither of them has He covered His beautiful face.

Verses : [1]

> "Faith and Infidelity, both are galloping on the way towards Him,
> And are exclaiming (together) : He is One and none shares His kingship." [2]

He is manifest in all ; and everything has emanated from Him. He is the first and the last and nothing exists, except Him.

Quatrain :

> "The neighbour, the companion and the co-traveller is He,
> In the rags of beggars and the raiments of kings, is He,
> In the conclave on high and the secret chamber below,
> By God, He is all and, verily by God, He is all." [3]

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[1] This verse is quoted from the *Ḥadīḳat-ul-Ḥaḳīḳat* of Ḥakīm *Sanā'ī* Ghaznawī. Dārā Shikūh also has written a quatrain which bears a close affinity in meaning to the above verse of *Sanā'ī*.

> "We have not seen a single particle of dust separate from the sun,
> (And) every drop of water is the sea in itself.
> With what name one should call the Truth ?
> (For) whatever name there is, it is one of the names of God.

Jāmī also has a similar quatrain :

> "At times we call Thee wine and next the wine-cup,
> (And) at times we call Thee grain and then a snare :
> There is nothing except Thy name on the tablet of the earth
> Now, with what name should we call Thee ?

[2] It appears from the *Darbār-i-Akbarī* of Mawlawī Muḥammad Ḥusain Āzād (p. 492) that Abul Faḍl had this verse inscribed on a building which Akbar had built for the common use of the Hindūs and the Musalmāns.

[3] This is one of the quatrains of *Jāmī*. Dārā also quotes it in his *Ḥasanāt-ul-'Ārifīn* in connection with the *Shaṭḥiyāt* of the poet.

And unlimited benedictions be upon the complete manifestation, the cause of the creation of the universe—Muḥammad, may peace be on him and his exalted descendants and great companions. Now, thus sayeth this unafflicted, unsorrowing *faḳīr*, Muḥammad Dārā Shikūh, that, after knowing the Truth of truths and ascertaining the secrets and subtleties of the true religion of the Ṣūfīs and having been endowed with this great gift (i.e., Ṣūfistic inspiration), he thirsted to know the tenets of the religion of the Indian monotheists; and, having had repeated intercourse and (continuous) discussion with the doctors and perfect divines of this (i.e. Indian) religion who had attained the highest pitch of perfection in religious exercises, comprehension (of God), intelligence and (religious) insight, he did not find any difference, except verbal, in the way in which they sought and comprehended Truth. Consequently, having collected the views of the two parties and having brought together the points—a knowledge of which is absolutely essential and useful for the seekers of Truth—he (i.e. the author) has compiled a tract and entitled it *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain* or "The Mingling of the Two Oceans," as it is a collection of the truth and wisdom of *two* Truth-knowing (*Ḥaḳ Shinās*) groups. The great (mystics) have said: "*Taṣawwuf* is equity and (further) *Taṣawwuf* is the abandonment of (religious) obligations." So, one who is just and discerning will at once understand that in ascertaining these points how deeply I had to think. It is certain that discerning, intelligent persons will derive much pleasure from this tract (*Risāla*), while persons of blunt intelligence, of either side, will get no share of its benefits. I have put down these researches of mine, according to my own intuition and taste, for the benefit of the members of my family and I have no concern with the common folk of either community. As, Khwāja Aḥrār,[1] may his secrets be sanctified, has said, "If I know that an infidel, immersed in sin, is, in a way, singing the note of Monotheism, I go to him, hear him and am grateful to him."

And from God comes grace and help!

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[1] Khwāja Nāṣiruddīn 'Ubaidullāh, better known as Khwāja Aḥrār, was a great *Naḳshbandī* mystic. He was born in 806 A.H. and lived for the greater part of his life at Samarḳand where he died on the 29th *Rabī'* I, 895 A.H. 'Alī b. Ḥusain al-Wā'iẓ al-Kāshifī in his *Rashaḥāt* deals, principally, with the life and teachings of the Khwāja. (See *Nafaḥāt-ul-Uns*, Nawal Kishūr edition, p. 264.) Dārā Shikūh quotes the above saying, attributed to Khwāja Aḥrār, on p. 39 of his *Ḥasanāt-ul-'Ārifīn*.

I. Discourse on the Elements (*'Anāṣir*).

Know that the elements are five in number and that these five alone form the constituents of all the mundane creations—*First*, "the great element", (*'Unṣur-i-A'ẓam*), which the men of Faith (*Shar'*) call "*'Arsh-i-Akbar*", or, the "great throne"; *Secondly*, the wind; *Thirdly*, the fire; *Fourthly*, the water and *Fifthly*, the dust. And, in the Indian language these are called *Pānch Bhūt* [1], namely, *akās* [2], *bā'ī* [3], *tej* [4], *jal* [5], and *pirthī* [6]. (Now) there are three *akās*: *bhūt akās* [7], *man akās* [8], and *chid akās* [9]; and (of these) *bhūt akās* is surrounding the elements, *man akās* is encircling the whole existence and *chid akās* is enveloping all and is covering everything. This *chid akās* is permanent, namely, it is not transitory and there is no Ḳur'ānic or Vedic verse (which is a revealed book) testifying to its annihilation or destruction. The first thing to come out of *chid akās* was Love (or *'Ishḳ*), which is called *māyā* [10] in the language of the Indian monotheists; and "I was a hidden treasure, then I desired to be known; so, I brought the creation into existence"—this is a proof of the above statement. From *'Ishḳ* (Love), (*Rūḥ-i-A'ẓam*) *jīv ātmān* [11], the great soul was born, by which is understood a reference to the soul of Muḥammad and (further) to the "complete soul" of the Chief (of the Faithful)—may peace be on him and salutation. And the Indian monotheists name him *Hiran Garbha* [12] and *Avasthāt* [13], which denote his greatness. After that comes the element (*'unṣur*) of wind, which is said to be the breath of the Merciful (*Raḥmān*) from which springs air mundane. At the time of breathing it came out hot, on account of its confinement in His August Self, fire came out of air; and, as the same breath possessed the qualities of mercy and unity, it became cold and, as such, water was created from fire. And as, on account of their great purity, the elements of air and fire are hardly perceptible and as water is more perceptible than either, some have held that, water was created first, followed by the element of dust. This dust is likened to the froth of that water and resembles the milk which, when put on fire, boils and froths.

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1 *Pañca bhūta*. 2 *Ākāśa*. 3 *Vāyu*. 4 *Tejas*.
5 *Jala*. 6 *Pṛthivī*. 7 *Bhūtākāśa*. 8 *Manaākāśa*.
9 *Cidākāśa*. 10 *Māyā*. See p. 6, n1. 11 *Jīvātman*.
12 *Hiraṇyagarbha*. 13 *Avasthātman*.

(Quite) unaware was I that this limitless ocean would be such,
That its vapour would turn out to be the sky and its foam would become the earth.

Next :

An egg-like drop heaved and was turned into an ocean,
Its foam produced the earth and its smoke gave rise to the sky.

And, as against this, on the day of the Great Resurrection, which the Indians call *mahā parlī* [1], the dust will be destroyed first, being swallowed by water ; water being dried up by fire ; fire being extinguished by air and air being merged in *mahā akās* [2] together with *Rūḥ-i-A'ẓam* (or, 'the Great Soul') :

"*Everything is perishable but His face* (*i.e. He*) [3]." (And) "*Everyone on it must pass away. And there will endure the face* (*i.e. the person*) *of thy Lord, the Lord of Glory and Honour* [4]." So, the exception of *wajh* (or, His face) found in the above two verses, which purport to deal with the destruction of everything, points (unmistakably) to *mahā akās*, which does not admit of annihilation. And had it not been so, He would have said : "Everything is to be annihilated except *Him*"; but the specification of 'face' (found in the above verse) cannot but apply to *mahā akās* which constitutes the fine body of the Holy Self. Now, in the Indian language, earth is called *divī*, from which everything has been created and unto which everything will return ; and, as stated in the Holy verse, : "*From it We created you and into it We shall send you back and from it will We raise you a second time* [5]."

II. Discourse on the Senses (*Ḥawās*).

Corresponding to these five elements, there are five senses called *Panj Indrī* [6], in the Indian language. They are : (1) *Shāmma* (smelling) ; (2) *Dhā'iḳa* (tasting) ; (3) *Bāṣira* (seeing) ; (4) *Sāmi'a* (hearing) and (5) *Lāmisa* (touching), which are called *gahrān* [7], *rasnā* [8], *chach* [9], *sarutar* [10] and *tvak* [11] respectively, in the Indian language, and their qualities of perception are named *gandh* [12], *ras* [13], *rūp* [14], *sabd* [15] and *spars* [16]. Each

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[1] *Mahāpralaya.* [2] *Mahākāśa.* [3] *Ḳur'ān*, Chapt. XXVIII : 88.
[4] *Ḳur'ān*, Chapt. LV : 26. [5] *Ḳur'ān*, Chapt. XX : 55. [6] *Pañca indriyāni.*
[7] *Ghrāṇa* (nose). [8] *Rasanā* (tongue). [9] *Cakṣuh* (eye).
[10] *Srotra* (ear). [11] *Tvak* (skin). [12] *Gandha* (smell).
[13] *Rasa* (taste). [14] *Rūpa* (colour). [15] *Sabda* (sound). [16] *Sparśa* (touch).

of these five senses is of the same genus as one of those elements and is also allied to them. Thus, the sense of smell is allied with dust; for the reason that none of the elements, except dust, possesses smell which is perceived only by *Shāmma* (or, the sense of smelling); *Dhā'iḳa*, (or, the sense of taste), is connected with water—(the taste of) water being perceived with our tongue; *Bāṣira*, (or, the sense of sight), is connected with fire and, as such, colour is perceived by the eyes only, while luminosity is present in both; *Lāmisa*, (or, the sense of touch), is connected with air, as the perception of all tangible things is through the air; (finally), *Sāmi'a*, (or, the sense of hearing), is connected with 'the great element' (*'Unṣur-i-A'ẓam*), namely *mahā akās* [1], through whose instrumentality we hear sounds. And it is through the sense of hearing that the real essence of *mahā akās* is manifested to the religious devotees, (*Ahl-i-Dil*), only, while no one else can realise it. Such exercise is common to the Ṣūfīs and the Indian monotheists; the former naming it, *Shaghl-i-Pās-i-Anfās* [2], (or, the exercise of controlling the breath), and the latter calling it *dhun* [3] in their own phraseology.

Now, the internal senses also are five in number: *Mushtarak* (Common); *Mutakhayyila* (Imaginary); *Mutafakkira* (Contemplative); *Ḥāfiẓa* (Retentive) and *Wāhima* (Fancying); but in the Indian system, however, they are four in number, namely, *budh* [4], *man* [5], *ahankār* [6] and *chit* [7]—a combination of which is called *antah karan* [8] and this, in its turn, may be looked upon as the fifth. Now, *chit* is possessed of a characteristic, called *sat parkarat* [9], which is like its leg and, if cut, *chit* is prevented from running. (Of the above), (1) *Budh*, namely, understanding, possesses the characteristic of moving towards good and avoiding evil; (2) *Man*, or mind, possesses the two characteristics of *sankalp* [10] and *pakalp* [11], namely, of determination and abandonment (doubt) (3) *Chit*, which, as the messenger of mind, is entrusted with the duty of running on all sides, does not possess the faculty of distinguishing between right and wrong; (4) *ahankār*, which attributes things to itself, is one of the qualities

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1 *Mahākāśa.*

2 There is a Persian tract entitled *Risāla-i-Pās-i-Anfās*, attributed to the authorship of *Jāmi*, in the Bodleian Library. (See *Catalogue of Persian MSS.* by Sachau and Ethé, p. 758.)

3 *Dhyāna.* 4 *Buddhi.* 5 *Manas.* 6 *Ahaṁkāra.* 7 *Cit.*

8 *Antaḥkaraṇa.* 9 *Satprakṛti.* 10 *Saṃkalpa.* 11 *Vikalpa.*

of *paramātmā*, for the reason that it possesses *māyā*, which, in their phraseology, is the name given to 'love.'[1] Now *Ahankār* again is subdivided into three: *Sātag*,[2] *Rājas*,[3] and, *Tāmas*.[4] *First, Ahankār Sātag*, or *Gayān Surūp*,[5] is the high stage when *param ātmā* says: "Whatever there is is I"—such is the stage of complete encircling of everything: "*Now surely He encompasses all things.*"[6] Another (Holy Verse) says: *He is the First and the Last and the Ascendant* (*over all*) *and the Knower of hidden things.*"[7] *Secondly, Ahankār Rājas*, is *maddhim*,[8] namely the middle stage, when (a religious devotee) having fixed his eyes on *jīv ātmān*[9] says: "My self is free from (the limitations of) body and elements, and corporeality has no access to me." "*Nothing is like a likeness of Him*"[10] (And) "*Then surely Allāh is Self-sufficient, above any need of the worlds.*"[11] *Thirdly, Ahankār Tāmas* is *adham*,[12] or the low stage of *awiddiyā*,[13] namely of servitude to the August Self; and its inferiority is due to the fact that a man, on account of his great degradation, limitation and subjectivity, attributes folly, ignorance and carelessness to himself and, having an eye on his sense existence, speaks out in such a manner that, as a result of it, "I" and "Thou" are rent apart from their point of unity. "*Say: I am only a mortal like you.*"[14] Consequently, *Bashist*[15] says that when the Lord desired to be determined, He was transformed into *param ātmā* immediately on His thinking of it; and, on the increase of this determination, the stage of *ahankār* was attained and, when a second determination was added to it, it got the name of *mahātat*[16] or "'*Akl-i-Kul*" (*Perfect Wisdom*). Now, *man*[17], or mind, which is also styled *parakart*,[18] was created from *sankalp*[19] and *mahātat*; and from *sankalp man*, the five *Gayān-i-Indrī*[20], namely, (the senses of) smell, touch, seeing, hearing and taste, were created; and, from a combination of *sankalp* and the five *Gayān-i-Indrī*, the limbs and bodies were created,

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[1] I am told by certain Sanskrit scholars that *māyā* does not mean "love," as stated by Dārā Shikūh, but it means 'the inscrutable power of *paramātmā* which produces appearances.'

[2] *Sattva*. [3] *Rājas*. [4] *Tamas*. [5] *Jñānasvarūpa*.

[6] *Kur'ān*, Ch. XLI: 54. [7] *Kur'ān*, Ch. LVII: 3. [8] *Madhyama'*.

[9] *Jīvātman*. [10] *Kur'ān*, Ch. XLII: 11. [11] *Kur'ān*, Ch. III: 96.

[12] *Adhama*. [13] *Avidyā*. [14] *Kur'ān*: Ch. XVIII: 110. [15] *Vaśiṣṭha*.

[16] *Mahattatva*. [17] *Manas*. [18] *Prakṛti*. [19] *Saṃkalpa*. [20] *Jñānendriya*.

which, in their combined form, are named *badan*, or body. So, *Param-ātmā*—who is called *Abul-Arwāḥ* has enforced by His Own will all these limitations on Himself and has tied Himself to these; and, just as a silk-worm, having brought out threads of silk from its own spittle, confines itself to them, so our Lord has created all these imaginary limitations for Himself and has confined Himself to them; or, just as the seed of a tree having produced a plant out of itself, enters the tree and remains in the branches and the leaves and the flowers of the tree, (so our Lord has confined Himself in this world). Thus, know and be mindful (of the fact) that before its creation, this world of ours was concealed in His Self and now His Holy Self is concealed in the world.[1]

III. Discourse on the Devotional Exercises (*Ashghāl*).

Although, according to the Indian monotheists, there are several kinds of devotional exercises, yet they regard *ajpā*[2] as the best of all. This exercise originates from every living being, both in sleep and wakefulness, without any will or control, at every moment—and always. Consequently, the Holy verse,: "*And there is not a single thing but glorifies Him with His praise, but you do not understand their glorification*"[3], refers to this very fact. The incoming and outgoing of breath have been interpreted in two words—the breath that comes out is called *Ū* (او *i.e.* He) and the breath that goes in is named *Man* (من *i.e.* I); and (their combination) "*Ū manam*" (او منم) means "He is I." The Ṣūfīs consider their occupation in these two words as *Hū Allāh* (*i.e.* He is God)—*Hū* appearing while the breath comes in and *Allāh* when it goes out. And these words are being uttered by every living being, without his being conscious of the fact.

IV. Discourse on the attributes of God, the Most High (*Ṣifāt-i-Allāh Ta'ālā*).

According to the Ṣūfīs, there are the two divine attributes of Beauty (*Jamāl*) and Majesty (*Jalāl*), which encircle the whole creation, while,

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[1] Cf. Sa'duddīn Maḥmūd Shabistarī's *Gulshan-i-Rāz*, where he says: "Is not, after all, the Necessary Being a part of Existence? For (now) Existence has concealed His Self!"

[2] *Ajapā*.

[3] *Ḳur'ān*, Ch. XVII: 44.

according to Indian devotees, there are three attributes (of God), collectively called *tirgun* [1], or *sat* [2], *raj* [3] and *tam* [4], which mean Creation, Duration, and Destruction; the Ṣūfīs, (on the other hand), viewing, and accepting the quality of Duration as the attribute of Beauty (or, *Jamāl*). But, as these attributes are included in one another, the Indian devotees name them *tirmūrat* [5], or *Barhmā* [6], *Bishun* [7] and *Mahīsh* [8], who are identical with *Jibra'īl, Mīkā'īl* and *Isrāfīl* of Ṣūfī phraseology. *Barhmā*, or *Jibra'īl*, is the (superintending) angel of Creation; *Bishun*, or *Mīkā'īl*, is the angel of Duration (or Existence); *Mahīsh*, or *Isrāfīl* is the angel of Destruction. Now, water, wind and fire are also allied with these (superintending) angels—thus water goes with *Jibra'īl*, fire with *Mīkā'īl* and air with *Isrāfīl*: and these three things (i.e. water, fire and air) are manifest in all living beings. Thus, *Barhmā*, who appears as the water (or, moisture) of the tongue, is the cause of Divine utterance and is (further) the source of the power of speech; *Bishun*, who is (like) fire in the eyes, is the source of light, refulgence and eyesight; *Mahīsh*, who is the air in the nostrils, is instrumental in creating the two blowing horns, namely the two breaths, which, if cut off (or stopped), lead to death.

Now, *tirgun*, which constitutes the three Divine attributes of Creation, Duration and Destruction, is manifested through *Barhmā*, *Bishun* and *Mahīsh*, whose attributes (in their turn) are manifest in all the creations of the world. (Thus), when a creature is born, it lives for an appointed period and then it is annihilated. *Shakt*, or the potential power of the (above) three attributes is called *tirdivī*.[9] Now, *tirmūrat* [10] gave birth to *Barhmā*, *Bishun* and *Mahīsh*, while *tirdivī* was the mother of these three: *Sarastī* [11], *Pārbatī* [12] and *Lachmī*.[13] (Of the latter) *Sarastī* is connected with *Rajūgun* [14] and *Barhmā*, *Pārbatī* with *Tamūgun* [15] and *Mahīsh* and *Lachmī* with *Satūgun* [16] and *Bishun*.

V. Discourse on the Soul (*Rūḥ*).

The soul is of two kinds: (i) a (common) soul and (ii) the Soul of souls, (*Abul-Arwāḥ*), which are called *ātmā* and *paramātmā*, respectively, in the

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1 *Triguṇa.* 2 *Sattva.* 3 *Rajas.* 4 *Tamas.*
5 *Trimūrti.* 6 *Brahmā.* 7 *Viṣṇu.* 8 *Maheśvara.*
9 *Tridevī.* 10 *Trimūrti.* 11 *Sarasvatī.* 12 *Pārvatī.*
13 *Lakṣmī.* 14 *Rajoguṇa.* 15 *Tamoguṇa.* 16 *Satvaguṇa.*

phraseology of the Indian divines. When the 'Pure Self' (*Dhāt-i-Baḥt*) becomes determinate and fettered, either in respect of purity or impurity, He is known as *rūḥ* (soul), or *ātmā*, in His elegant aspect and *jasd* (body), or *sarīr*,[1] in His in-elegant aspect. And the self that was determined in Eternity Past is known as *Rūḥ-i-A'ẓam* (or, the Supreme Soul) and is said to possess uniform identity with the Omniscient Being. Now, the Soul in which all the souls are included is known as *paramātmā* or *Abul-Arwāḥ* (i.e. the Soul of Souls). The inter-relation between water and its waves is the same as that between body and soul or as that between *sarīr* and *ātmā*. The combination of waves, in their complete aspect, may (very aptly) be likened to *Abul-Arwāḥ* or *paramātmā*; while water only is (just) like the August Existence, or *sudh*[2] or *chitan*.[3]

VI. Discourse on the Air (*Bād*).

As the air, which moves within the human body, remains in five places, so, it has got five names, namely *parān*,[4] *apān*,[5] *samān*,[6] *udān*[7] and *vayān*.[8] (1) *Parān*, which is the movement of air from the nostrils up to the toes, possesses the characteristic of breathing. (2) *Apān*, whose movement is from the buttocks up to the special organ, is encircling the navel, and is, moreover, the cause of life. (3) *Samān* moves inside the breast and the navel. (4) *Udān* moves from the throat up to the top of the brain (or, *the duramater*). (5) (Lastly), *Vayān*, (is that air). which is penetrating everything, whether manifest or hidden.

VII. Discourse on the Four Worlds (*'Awālim-i-Arba'a*).

According to certain Ṣūfīs, the worlds, through which all the created beings must needs pass, are four in number, (that is), *Nāsūt* (the Human World), *Malakūt* (the Invisible World); *Jabarūt* (the Highest World) and *Lāhūt* (the Divine World); but, according to others, they are five in all—the World of Similitude (*'ālam-i-mithāl*) being added to them. And those who consider the world of Similitude as identical with the Invisible world, regard them (i.e. the worlds) as consisting of four only. According to the Indian divines, the *Avasthāt*,[9] which term applies to these four worlds, consists of four (only), namely, *Jāgart*,[10] *Sapan*,[11]

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[1] *Sarīra.* [2] *Suddha.* [3] *Cetana.* [4] *Prāṇa.* [5] *Apāna.* [6] *Samāna.*
[7] *Udāna.* [8] *Vyāna.* [9] *Avasthātman.* [10] *Jāgrat.* [11] *Svapna.*

Sakhūpat [1] and *Turyā.* [2] (Of these), (1) *Jāgart* is identical with *Nāsūt* (or, the Human World), which is the world of manifestation and wakefulness; (2) *Sapan,*, which is identified with *Malakūt* (or, the Invisible World), is the world of souls and dreams; (3) *Sakhūpat* is identical with *Jabarūt*, (or, the Highest World), in which the traces of both the worlds disappear and the distinction between "I" and "Thou" vanishes—whether you see it with your eyes open or closed. There are many devotees of both the communities who have no information regarding this world. Accordingly, Sayyid-uṭ-ṭā'ifa, Ustād Abul Ḳāsim, [3] (May his soul rest in sanctity) has informed us that he said, "*Taṣawwuf* consists in sitting for a moment without an attendant." The Shaikh-ul-Islām [4] asked, "What does 'without an attendant' mean?" He explained "(It means) finding without seeking and beholding without seeing, for the (employment of) eyes in beholding (God) is an infirmity. So, 'sitting without an attendant' means that the marks of the Human World (*'ālam-i-nāsūt*) and of the Invisible World (*'ālam-i-malakūt*) may not enter the mind (of the beholder.)" And, Mawlānā-i-Rūm, (May God hallow his grave), has also hinted at the same point:

"If thou desirest to find him, then do not seek for a moment,
(And) if thou wishest to know Him, then do not know for a moment.
When thou seekest Him secretly, thou art far from His manifestation;
And when thou seekest Him openly, thou art hidden from His secrets.

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1 *Suṣupti.* 2 *Turīya.*

3 Abul Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad b. al-Junaid al-Kharrāz al-Ḳawārīrī, the great mystic of Baghdād was a nephew of Sarī as-Saḳaṭī and a pupil of ash-Shāfi'ī. He died at Baghdād in 297 A.H. (910 A.D.). See Jāmī's *Nafaḥāt*, p. 81. The saying, ascribed here to Junaid, is quoted, with Shaikh-ul-Islām's explanation, on p. 82 of Jāmī's *Nafaḥāt*. It appears that Dārā himself considered the above 'saying' as very important, for in three of his works i.e. *Risāla-i-Ḥaḳ Numā* (p. 21); *Ḥasanāt-ul-'Ārifīn* (fol. 18 b of A.S.B. copy No. III 10) and *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā* (p. 46 of Urdū translation), he quotes that in full.

4 Shaikh-ul-Islām Abū Ismā'īl 'Abdullāh b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī al-Harawī was born on the 2nd Sha'bān 396 A.H. (1006 A.D.) He is the author of several Ṣūfī works but his fame mainly rests on his extremely popular *Munājāt*. His lectures on the life and doctrines of the Ṣūfīs, which were embodied in a book and entitled *Ṭabaḳāt-i-'Abdullāh Anṣārī*, form one of the main sources of Jāmī's *Nafaḥāt*. (For details see J.A.S.B., 1922, pp. 385–391). He died in 481 A.H. (1088 A.D.).

And when thou comest out of the hidden and the manifest, so, undoubtedly,
Stretch thy legs and sleep comfortably in His protection.

(Now) (4) *Turyā* is identical with *Lāhūt*, (or, the World of Divinity), which is (identical with) Pure Existence, encircling, including and covering all the worlds. If a person journeys from the *Nāsūt* (or, the Human World) to the *Malakūt* (or, the Invisible World) and from *Malakūt* to the *Jabarūt* (or the Highest World) and from this last to the *Lāhūt* (or, the World of Divinity), this will be considered as a progress, on his part. But, if the Truth of Truths, whom the Indian monotheists call *avasan*[1], descends from the stage of *Lāhūt* (or, Divinity) to that of *Malakūt* (Invisibility) and thence to *Jabarūt* (or, the Highest Heaven), His journey terminates in *Nāsūt* (or, the World of Humanity). And the fact that certain Ṣūfīs have described the stages of descent as four, while others as five, is a reference to this (very) fact.

VIII. Discourse on Sound (*Āwz*)*ā*.

Sound emanates from the same breath of the Merciful which came out with the word *Kun*[2], (or, Be), at the time of the creation (of the universe). The Indian divines call that sound *Sarastī*, which, (they say), is the source of all other sounds, voices, and vibrations :

"Wherever thou hearest, it is His melodious voice,
Who has, after all, heard such a rolling sound ?"

According to the Indian monotheists, this sound, which is called *Nād*, is of three kinds. *First*, *Anāhat*,[3] which has been in Eternity Past, is so at Present, and will be so in Future. The Ṣūfīs name this sound, *Āwāz-i-Muṭlaḳ* (or, the sound of the Absolute), or *Sulṭān-ul-Adhkār*[4] (i.e. the Sulṭān of all devotional exercises). This (sound) is

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[1] *Avasāna* (ultimate).

[2] According to Muḥammadan belief, the world owes its origin to the Will of God which was expressed by the word *Kun*, or, Be. So runs the Holy verse: "*Wonderful Originator of the heavens and the earth; and when He decrees an affair, he only says to it, Be, so there it is.*" (*Ḳur'ān*, *Ch. II* : 117.)

[3] *Anāhata.*

[4] *Sulṭān-ul-Adhkār*—Among the Ṣūfīs there is a peculiar exercise of the 'tuition of the breath' called *Sulṭān-ul-Adhkār*. It is said to be even more difficult than *Shaghl-i-Pās-i-Anfās*, which has been discussed before.

eternal and is (also) the source of the perception of *mahā akās*; but this sound is inaudible to all, except the great saints of both the communities. *Secondly*, *Āhat*[1], or the sound which originates from the striking of one thing against another, without its (i.e. sound's) combination into words. *Thirdly*, *Sabd*[2], or the sound which emanates together with its formation into words. *Sabd* possesses an affinity with *Sarastī* and is (further) the source of *Ism-i-A'ẓam*[3] (or, the Great name) of the Musalmāns and the *Bīdmukh*[4], or *Om*[5], of the Hindu divines. *Ism-i-A'ẓam* means that He is the possessor of the three attributes of Creation, Preservation and Destruction; and *Fatḥa*, *Ḏhamma* and *Kasra*, which correspond with *akār*[6], *wukār*[7] and *makīr*[8], have also originated from this (i.e. *Ism-i-A'ẓam*). They (i.e. the Indian divines) assign a special symbol to this sound, which bears a close resemblance to our *Ism-i-A'ẓam*, and, in which, traces of the elements of water, fire, air and dust and of the Pure Self are manifest.

IX. Discourse on Light (*Nūr*).

Light (*nūr*) is of three kinds; if it is manifested with the attribute of *Jalāl* (Majesty), it is either sun-coloured, ruby-coloured, or fire-coloured; and, if manifested with the attribute of *Jamāl* (Beauty), it is either moon-coloured, pearl-coloured, or water-coloured; and, (lastly) comes the Light of the Essence which is devoid of all (such) attributes, and is not manifested to any one, except the Holy men in whose favour God (the Most High and Holy) has declared: "*Allāh guides to His light whom He pleases.*"[9]

This is the Light which appears (at the time) when a man, either in sleep or with the eyes closed, neither beholds anything with his eyes nor hears with his ears nor speaks with his tongue nor smells with his nose nor feels with his sense of touch, and, as a matter of fact, performs all these functions, in sleep, with only *one* faculty and does not require the aid of, either the limbs, the external faculties or the light of a lamp; and the senses of sight, hearing, taste, smell and touch

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[1] *Āhata*. [2] *Sabda*.

[3] *Ism-i-A'ẓam* literally means 'the great name' and, undoubtedly, refers to *one* out of the ninety-nine names of God, but as to which of them in particular, it refers is unsettled. Some identify it with *al-Ḥayy-ul-Ḳayyūm* and others with *ar-Raḥmān* and *ar-Raḥīm*. [4] *Veda-mukha*. [5] *Om* (see foot-note on p. 18).

[6] *Akāra*. [7] *Ukāra*. [8] *Makāra*. [9] *Ḳur'ān*, Ch. XXIV: 35.

become merged in one—such is the Light of Essence, or, in other words, the Light of God. Exalted is His Dignity! O my friend! reflect on what I have said, as it is a matter of discernment and meditation. And, the Prophet of God, may His blessings and peace be on him, has said in praise of this reflection that, "A moment's engagement in meditation is better than the devotion of a whole year"[1] i.e., of the human beings and the fairies. Now, the 'Light' discernible from the Holy verse "*Allāh is the light of the heavens and the earths,*"[2] is called *jun surūp*[3], *savāparakās*[4], and *sapanparakās*[5] by the Hindus, which (Light) is always effulgent by itself, whether appearing in the world or not. Accordingly, the Ṣūfīs have explained *nūr* (Light) by the word *munawwar* (Illumined), and the Hindus also have explained in the same manner. The Holy verse on this point is, as follows: "*Allāh is the light of the heavens and the earth; a likeness of His light is as a niche in which is a lamp, the lamp is in a glass,* (*and*) *the glass is as it were a brightly shining star, lit from a blessed olive-tree, neither eastern nor western, the oil whereof almost gives light though fire touches it not—light upon light—Allāh guides to His light whom He pleases.*"[6]

But, what this *faḳīr* has understood, (from the above-mentioned verse), is that *Mishkāt* (or, niche) applies to the world of bodily existence, *Miṣbāḥ* (or, the lamp) to the Light of the Essence and *Shīsha* (or, glass) to the (human) soul which is like a shining star and that, on account of this lamp (*miṣbāḥ*), the *Shīsha* (or, glass) also appears like a lamp (or, *Miṣbāḥ*). And: "*That lamp is lit,*' 'applies to the Light of the Essence; while the "*Sacred tree*" (*Shajar-i-Mubārak*) refers to the Self of the Truth, Holy and Exalted is He, who is free from the limitations of the East and the West. By *Zait* (olive-oil) is meant "the Great Soul" (*Rūḥ-i-A'ẓam*), which is neither of Eternity past nor of Eternity to come, in that the *Zait* is luminous and resplendent by itself, for the reason that it possesses great elegance and purity, and does not require to be lighted. Consequently, Ustād Abū Bakr Wāsiṭī[7], may he be bless-

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[1] *Ḥadīth*. Dārā has quoted this Ḥadīth on p. 52 of his *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā*.

[2] *Ḳur'ān*, Ch. XXIV: 35. [3] *Jyotiḥ Svarūpa*. [4] *Svaprakāśa*.

[5] *Svapnaprakāśa*. [6] *Ḳur'ān*, Ch. XXIV: 35.

[7] Muḥammad b. Mūsā, called Abū Bakr al-Wāsiṭī, was a companion of Junaid and Nūrī. He died at Marv sometime before 320 A.H. According to Shaikh-ul-Islām, he was the *Imām* of *Tawḥīd* (Divine Unity). See *Nafaḥāt* pp. 170, 171 and *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, (edited by R. A. Nicholson), pp. 265–281.

ed, says, in defining soul, that the 'glass' of soul is so luminous that it need not be touched with the fire of the Human World (*nār-i-nāsūt*) and it is imminent that, on account of its inherent potency, it may, automatically, be illumined. This light of *Zait* (olive-oil) is "light upon light" (*nūr-un-'alā nūr*), which signifies that, on account of its extreme purity and brightness, it is light full of light; and no one can behold Him with this light, unless He guides (and directs) him with the Light of His unity. So the main purport of a combination of all these verses is that God, the Most High and Holy, is manifest, with the Light of His Essence, in elegant and refulgent curtains and there is no veil or darkness concealing Him. Now, the Light of (His) Essence is manifest in the curtain of Soul of Souls (*Abul-Arwāḥ*), the Soul of Souls in the curtain of Soul (*Rūḥ*) and the Soul in the curtain of Body—(exactly) in the manner in which the 'lamp' is luminous and manifesting itself within the cover of 'glass'; the glass being placed in a niche (*ṭākcha*), deriving its illumination from the Light of His Essence and thus adding light to light (*nūr-un-'alā nūr*).

X. Discourse on the Vision of God (*Rūyat*).

The Indian monotheists call the Vision of God, *Sāchātkār*[1], that is, to see God with the (ordinary) eyes of the forehead. Know that the Vision of God, either by the Prophets, may peace be on them, or by the perfect divines, may their souls be sanctified, whether in this or the next world and whether with the outer or the inner eyes, cannot be doubted or disputed; and the "men of the Book" (*ahl-i-kitāb*), the perfect divines and the seers of all religions—whether they are believers in the Ḳur'ān, the Vedas, the Book of David or the Old and the New Testaments—have a (common) faith in this respect. Now, one who disbelieves the beholding of God is a thoughtless and sightless member of his community, the reason being: if the Holy Self is Omnipotent, how can He not have the potency to manifest Himself? This matter has been explained very clearly by the '*Ulamā* of the Sunnī Sect. But, if it is said, that (even) the Pure Self (*dhāt-i-baḥt*) can be beheld, it is an impossibility; for the Pure Self is elegant and undetermined, and, as He cannot be determined, He is manifest in the veil of elegance only, and as such cannot be beheld, and such beholding is an impossibility. And the sug-

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[1] *Sākṣātkāra.*

gestion that He can be beheld in the next and not in this world, is groundless, for if He is Omnipotent, He is potent to manifest Himself in any manner, anywhere and at any time He likes. (I hold) that one who cannot behold Him here (i.e., in this world) will hardly behold Him there (i.e. in the next world); as He has said in the Holy verse: "*And whoever is blind in this, he shall* (*also*) *be blind in the hereafter.*" [1]

The *Mu'tazila* [2] and the *Shī'a* [3] doctors, who are opposed to *rūyat* (Beholding), have committed a great blunder in this matter, for had they only denied the capability of beholding the Pure Self, there would have been some justification, but their denial of all forms of *ruyat* (i.e. Beholding) is a great mistake; the reason being that most of the Prophets and perfect divines have beheld God with their ordinary eyes and have heard His Holy words without any intermediary and, now, when they are, by all means, capable of hearing the words of God, why should they not be capable of beholding Him? Verily, they must be so; and, just as it is obligatory to have faith in God, the Angels, the (revealed) Books, the Prophets, the Destiny, the Good and the Evil, and the Holy Places, etc., so it is obligatory and incumbent to have faith in *rūyat* (Beholding). The unversed Sunnī 'Ulamā who have disputed the

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[1] *Kur'ān*, Ch. XVII: 72.

[2] "*Mu'tazala* (lit. the separatists) a sect of Muhammadans founded by Wāsil ibn 'Aṭā who separated from the school of Hasan al-Basri (A.H. 110). The following are their chief tenets: They entirely reject all eternal attributes of God...... They believe the word of God to have been created in subjects .... They deny all vision of God in Paradise by the corporeal eye, and reject all comparisons and similitudes applied to God............ During the reigns of the 'Abbaside Khalīfas, al-Māmūn, al-Mu'taṣim, and al-Wāthiḳ (A.H. 198–228) at Baghdād the *Mu'tazala* were in great favour." (Hughes' *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 425).

[3] *Shī'a* (*lit.* "followers") is the name given to the "followers" of 'Alī and his descendants, through Fāṭima, the daughter of Prophet Muḥammad. They consider Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān, the first three orthodox Caliphs, as usurpers and regard 'Alī and his eleven descendants as the only rightful *Imāms* or *Khalīfas*. They are also called *Ithnā 'ashariya* or *twelveans* as they believe in twelve Imāms, namely, 'Alī; al-Ḥasan; al-Ḥusain; 'Alī, surnamed Zain-ul-'Ābidīn; Muḥammad al-Bāḳir; Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiḳ; Mūsā al-Kāẓim; ar-Riḍā; Muḥammad at-Taḳī; 'Alī an-Naḳī; al-Ḥasan al-'Askarī; Muḥammad al-Mahdī (who is supposed to re-appear before the day of judgment).

meaning and wording of the tradition—in which 'Ā'isha Ṣiddīḳa [1] asked Prophet (Muḥammad), Peace be on him,: "Didst thou behold thy Lord ?" to which the Prophet replied, "It is light that I am beholding" —have read it as نور انی اراه "It is Light, how can I behold it ?" But this (tradition) cannot be an argument against beholding God, for if we put the former interpretation it will refer to His "complete beholding" (*rūyat-i-tām*) in the veil of Light but, if we interpret it as, "It is Light, how can I behold it ?," it will refer to His Pure and Colourless Self. So, it is not a difference in the context but rather a manifestation of the miracle of (our) Prophet who has explained two problems in one tradition. And the Holy verse: "(*Some*) *faces on that day shall be bright, Looking to their Lord*" [2] is a clear argument in favour of *rūyat*, (Beholding), of our Lord, Exalted is His Dignity; (while) the verse: "*Vision comprehends Him not, and He comprehends all vision; and He is the knower of subtilities, the Aware*" [3] refers to his colourlessness, that is, the eye cannot behold Him in his Colourless and Absolute capacity, although He beholds all and possesses extreme elegance and colourlessness. And, the word *huwa* (He), found in the above Holy verse, refers to the invisibility of His Pure Self. Now, the beholding of God is of *five* kinds: *first*, in dream with the eyes of heart; *secondly*, beholding Him with the ordinary eyes; *thirdly*, beholding Him in an intermediate state of sleep and wakefulness, which is a special kind of Selflessness; *fourthly*, (beholding Him) in (a stage of) special determination; *fifthly*, beholding the One Self in the multitudinous determinations of the internal and external worlds. In such a way beheld our Prophet, may peace be on him, whose 'self' had disappeared from the midst and the beholder and the beheld had merged in one and his sleep, wakefulness and selflessness looked as one and his internal and the external eyes had become one unified whole—such is

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[1] 'Ā'isha, the favourite wife of the Prophet, was born between 613 and 614 A.D. She was the daughter of Abū Bakr, the first Caliph, and was married to the Prophet in 623 A.D. She died on the 17th Ramaḍān, 58 A.H., 13th July, 678 A.D. "'Ā'isha occupies a prominent place amongst the most distinguished traditionists. 1210 traditions are recorded as having been reported by her direct from the mouth of the Prophet. She was often consulted on theological and juridicial subjects." (*Encycl. of Islam*, Vol. I, pp. 216, 217.)

[2] *Ḳur'ān*, Ch LXXV: 22, 23.

[3] *Ḳur'ān*, Ch. VI: 104.

the state of perfect *rūyat*[1] (Beholding), which is not confined either to this or the next world and is possible everywhere and at every period.

XI. Discourse on the Names of God, the Most High (*Asmāi Allāh Ta'ālā*).

Know that the names of God, the Most High, are numberless and beyond comprehension. In the language of the Indian divines, the Absolute, the Pure, the Hidden of the hidden and the Necessary Self is known as *asan*[2], *tirgun*[3], *nirankār*[4], *niranjan*[5], *sat*[6] and *chit*.[7] If knowledge is attributed to Him, the Indian divines designate Him as *chitan*[8], while the Muslims call Him *'Alīm* (Knowing). For *Al-Ḥak* (the Truth) they have (the word) *anant*[9]; for *Ḳādir* (the Powerful) they have *samarth*[10]; for *Samī'* (the Hearkener) they have *sarutā*[11] and for *Baṣīr* (the Beholder) they have *drashtā*.[12] If spirit is attributed to that Absolute Self, they call Him *waktā*[13]; *Allāh* (God)

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[1] Dārā Shikūh has discussed, in some detail, the question of *Rūyat*, or the vision of God, in his *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā*, pp. 60–66. He has quoted many authorities in support of his argument, which it is unnecessary to discuss here. I may, however, give a brief summary of the introductory remarks made by Dārā Shikūh :

" One day I asked Mīyān Jīv that it is stated in *Nihāya-i-Jazarī* that Ibn-i-Shaḳīḳ told Abū Dhar-i-Ghaffārī, ' Had I seen Prophet Muḥammad, I must have asked him as to whether he saw God or not '. Abū Dhar-i-Ghaffārī replied ' I had enquired of Prophet, but he replied, " *Nūr-un-anna-arāhu* " i.e. He is Light, I cannot see Him anyhow. But mark that verbal play (*Tajnīs-i-Khaṭṭī*) in the above sentence, for, it may also mean, ' It is light that I am beholding '........"

Now, Ḥaḍrat Mīyān Jīv told Dārā Shikūh that if the first interpretation is put on the words of the Prophet, then it will refer to the Pure Self, and such beholding is an impossibility even for the Prophets; but if the second interpretation is put, then it means that 'He can be seen when he descends and appears in veil or guise.' Dārā Shikūh has summed up his views on the subject of *Rūyat* in the following quatrain which I quote from his *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā*, (p. 61) :

" Those who will behold God in that (Future) time,
Know that at first they behold Him in this world ;
The vision of God is identical, whether in this or the next (world),
Every moment they see Him, open and secretly."

[2] *Asaṅga* (?). [3] *Triguṇa*. [4] *Nirākāra*.
[5] *Nirañjana*. [6] *Sattva*. [7] *Cit*.
[8] *Cetana*. [9] *Ananta*. [10] *Samartha*.
[11] *Srotā*. [12] *Draṣṭā*. [13] *Vyakta*.

they call *um* [1]; *Hū* (He) they call *sah* [2] and they designate *Firishta* (i.e. angel) as *dīvatā* [3], in their language. The 'perfect manifestation' (*mazhar-i-atam*) is called *awtār* [4], through whom the Majesty of God is manifested in such a way as would not be manifested, in any other individual of his class, in that particular period. *Waḥī* (Divine Revelation) which dawns on the Prophets, is called *akās bānī* [5]; and this name (*akās bānī*) is given to it for the reason that our Prophet, may peace be on him, has said: the severest moment for me is that of *Waḥī* (or, Divine Revelation), when I hear *Waḥī* ringing in my ears like the sound of a bell or the buzzing of wasps; so this voice, descending from heaven, is called *akās bānī*. They call the Heavenly Books *Ved*, and the beautiful ones of the *jins* (Geniis), who are the *parīs*, are called *anchrānt* [6], while the evil ones, who are the demons and the devils, are called *rāchas*. [7] *Manukh* [8], according to them, are the human beings, while *rikhī* [9] is a mystic and *mahā sudh* [10], an Apostle.

XII. Discourse on Apostleship and Saintship (*Nubuwwat wa Wilāyat*).

Apostles may be divided into three classes: *first*, those who might have beheld God either with the outer or the inner eyes; *secondly*, those

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1 *Om.* "O'm a mystic monosyllable or ejaculation by Hindus, which is supposed to be uttered in place of naming the Supreme Being. Hindus, from its awful and sacred meaning, hesitate to pronounce His name aloud, and place one of their hands before their mouths and say O'm! A Brahman beginning or ending a lecture of the Veda (or the recital of any holy strain), must always pronounce to himself the syllable O'm. From various passages in Asiatic Researches, Mr. Colebrooke and other authorities think it may be collected that A. O. M. or A. U. M. is interpreted to signify Brahm, the Supreme Being, under his three great attributes of the creator, the preserver and the destroyer, the letters standing in succession for the attributes as they are described. O'm is also supposed to express the words of the gaytri, a passage in the Veda which is imparted to the youthful Brahman at his initiation into the mysteries of his faith..... O'm (A.U.M.) is also imagined to be a monogram of the triad, the initials of Aditi, Varma, and Mitra." (*Cycl. of India*, Vol. iii, p. 21.) 2 *Saḥ*. 3 *Devatā*. 4 *Avatāra*.

5 *Ākāśavāṇī*. 6 *Apsaras*. 7 *Rakṣas*. 8 *Manuṣya*. 9 *Ṛṣi*.

10 The word *Mahā Sudh* is phonetically equivalent to *Mahā Śuddha*, or, "highly

who might have heard the voice of God, either sound only or sound, composed of words; *thirdly*, those who might have seen the angels or heard their voice.

Now, Apostleship and Saintship is of *three* kinds: (1) Pure (*tanzīhī*) Apostleship; (2) Resembling (*tashbīhī*) Apostleship and (3) a combination of Pure and Resembling Apostleships.

First, Pure (*tanzīhī*) Apostleship, like which was the Apostleship of Noah, May peace be on him, who beheld God in purity (*tanzīh*) and invited people (to embrace his religion) but, except a few, they did not accept his faith, on account of his (*tanzīh*) ('pure beholding'), and, (as a result), were sunk in the ocean of destruction. Similarly, the divines of our day invite disciples to a 'pure beholding' of God, but none of those disciples ever attains the stage of an *'Ārif*, nor is he benefited by their discourses and, dying on the way of *Sulūk* (journey) and *Ṭarīḳat* (Path)[a] never reaches God.

Secondly, Resembling (*tashbīhī*) Apostleship, like the Apostleship of Moses, May peace be on him, who saw God Himself in the fire of the tree and heard words from the clouds. A large section of the followers of Moses, having become Anthropomorphists, began worshipping the cow and committed sin. Now-a-days, some of our followers (*muḳallidīn*) whose only profession in life is (blind) following, having fallen aside from purity (*tanzīh*), have been sunk in Anthropomorphism, and, as such, indulge in seeing handsome and attractive faces and (pass their time) in playing and toying. One should never follow such persons.

Verses:

"Every heart-attracting face that thou beholdest,
The sky will soon remove it from before thy eyes;
Go, and give thy heart to one, who, in the circle of existence,
Has remained always with thee and will so continue to be."

Thirdly, a combination of Pure (*tanzīhī*) and Resembling (*tashbīhī*) Apostleships, like the Apostleship of Muḥammad, May peace be on him and salutation, who joined together the Absolute (*muṭlaḳ*) and the Determined (*muḳayyad*), the Colourless and the coloured, the Near and the Distant. There is a reference to this very dignity, in the Holy verse: "*Nothing is like a likeness of Him; and He is the Hearing, the*

Seeing." [1] The former, i.e. "*Nothing is like a likeness of Him,*" is a reference to His Purity (*tanzīh*) and the latter, i.e. "*He is the Hearing, the Seeing,*" is one to that of Resembling (*tas͟hbīh*). This is the highest and the loftiest stage of Universality and Perfection, which was reserved for that lord (Muḥammad), Peace be on him. So, our Prophet has encircled the whole world, from (the remotest corner of) the east to the (farthest end) of the west. Now, Pure (*tanzīhī*) Apostleship is void of Resembling (*tas͟hbīhī*) Apostleship, while Resembling Apostleship (in its turn) is void of Pure Apostleship; but the "Uniting" (*jāmiʻ*) Apostleship combines both *tanzīhī* and *tas͟hbīhī* Apostleships; as contained in the Holy verse: "*He is the First and the Last and the Ascendant* (*over all*) *and the Knower of hidden things.*" [2] Similarly, Saintship is limited to the perfect ones of the sect in whose praise God, the Most High, has said: "*You are the best of the nations raised up for* (*the benefit of*) *men,*" [3] namely, they are the best of My followers who combine *tanzīh* and *tas͟hbīh*. Thus, in the time of our Prophet, May peace of God and salutation be on him, there were, among the mystics, Abū Bakr,[4] ʻUmar,[5] ʻUt͟hmān,[6] ʻAlī,[7] Ḥasan [8] and Ḥusain,[9] the Six *Bāḳī* (*Sitta-i-Bāḳīya*), the ten Congratulated (*ʻAs͟hara-i-Mubas͟hs͟hara*) [10] and the great ones of the *muhājirs*,[11] the *anṣārs* [12] and the Ṣūfīs.

And in the time of the *Tābiʻīn* [13] there were (saints) like Uwais-i-Ḳaranī [14] and others; [15] and in another period saints like D͟hun Nūn al-Miṣrī [16], Fuḍail b. ʻIyāḍ [17], Maʻrūf-i-Kark͟hī[18], Ibrāhīm Adham[19], Bis͟hr-i-Ḥāfī [20], Sarī as-Saḳaṭī [21], Bāyazīd-i-Bisṭāmī [22], Ustād Abul Ḳāsim Junaidī [23], Sahl b. ʻAbdullāh at-Tustarī[24], Ruwaim[25], Abū Saʻīd K͟harrāz[26], Abul Ḥasan an-Nūrī[27], Ibrāhīm K͟hawwāṣ[28], Abū Bakr S͟hiblī[29], Abū Bakr Wāsiṭī [30] and others of their type. In another period there were Abū Saʻīd Abul K͟hair [31], S͟haik͟h-ul-Islām K͟hwāja ʻAbdullāh Anṣārī [32], S͟haik͟h Aḥmad-i-Jām [33], Muḥammad Maʻs͟hūḳ Ṭūsī [34], Aḥmad G͟hazzālī [35], and Abul Ḳāsim Gurgānī.[36] In another period there were (saints) like my *pīr* (spiritual guide) S͟haik͟h Muḥīuddīn ʻAbdul Ḳādir Jīlānī [37], Abū ʻUt͟hmān al-Mag͟hribī [38], S͟haik͟h Muḥīuddīn Ibn al-ʻArabī [39], S͟haik͟h Najmuddīn Kubrā [40], S͟haik͟h Farīduddīn ʻ*Aṭṭār* [41] and Mawlānā Jalāluddīn *Rūmī*.[42] In another period there were K͟hwāja Muʻīnuddīn C͟his͟htī,[43] K͟hwāja Bahāuddīn Naḳs͟hband [44], K͟hwāja Aḥrār [45] and Mawlānā ʻAbdur

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[1] *Ḳur'ān*, Ch. XLII : 11. [2] *Ḳur'ān*, Ch. LVII : 3.
[3] *Ḳur'ān* Ch. III : 109.

Rahmān *Jāmī*.[46] In another period there were (saints) like my Shaikh, the second Junaid, Shāh Mīr[47]; my teacher Mīyān Bārī[48]; my *Murshid* Mullā Shāh[49]; Shāh Muhammad Dilrubā[50], Shaikh Taiyyib Sarhindī[51], and Bāwā Lāl Bairāgī.[52]

(Biographical Notes to Section XII.)

4 Abū Bakr 'Abdullāh (surnamed 'Atīk) was the first orthodox Caliph who succeeded Prophet Muhammad in 632 A.D. He died on the 22nd Jamāda II, 13 A.H. =23rd August 634, and was buried beside the Prophet.

5 'Umar b. al-Khattāb, the second orthodox Caliph, succeeded Abū Bakr in 13 A.H. (=634 A.D.). He ruled over the countries of Islām for ten years and was assassinated in 23 A.H., (644 A.D.).

6 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, the third orthodox Caliph, succeeded 'Umar on the 1st Muharram, 24 A.H.=7th November, 644 A.D., and was assassinated by some conspirators on the 18th Dhul Hijja, A.H. 35 = June 17th, A.D. 656. He is called Dhun Nūrain, or "the possessor of two lights," as he married two of the Prophet's daughters, Rukayya and Umm-i-Kulthūm.

7 'Alī b. Abī Tālib was the fourth orthodox Caliph. He was a cousin and the son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad and was among the first few who embraced Islām. He became Caliph on the 25th Dhul Hijja, 35 A.H. = June 23rd, 656 A.D. and died on the 21st Ramadān, 40 A.H.=27 January, 661 A.D., as a result of wounds inflicted by Ibn-i-Muljam. He is regarded by the Shī'as as the only lawful Caliph after the Prophet.

8 Hasan, the eldest son of 'Alī, and a grandson of Prophet Muhammad, was born in 3 A.H. He succeeded 'Alī as Caliph in 40 A.D. and, after a rule of about six months, abdicated in favour of Mu'āwiya. He was, however, poisoned by his wife Ja'da, in 49 A.H.

9 Husain, the second son of 'Alī and a grandson of Prophet (through Fātima) was born in 4 A.H. He was the rightful successor of Mu'āwiya, but the latter nominated Yazīd, his son, as successor, who slew Husain, under the most tragic circumstances, at Karbalā, in 61 A.H. The martyrdom of Husain is mourned every year by the whole Muslim world and, more specially, by the Shī'as, from the 1st to the 10th of Muharram.

10 *'Ashara-i-Mubashshara*, or the ten who received the glad tidings, is the title given to ten of the most eminent companions (*ashāb*) of the Prophet, whose entry into Paradise was foretold by Muhammad. They are: Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, 'Alī, Talha b. az-Zubair, 'Abdur Rahmān, Sa'd b. Abī Wakkās, Sa'īd b. Zaid, Abū 'Ubaida b. al-Jarrāh.

11 The *Muhājirīn* is the title given to those believers who emigrated to Medina from Mecca.

12 *al-Ansār*, (lit. the helpers), or, more explicitly speaking, *Ansār-un-Nabī*, is the title given to those ' believers of Medina who received and assisted the Prophet

after his flight from Mecca' (621 A.D.). For details see the *Encycl. of Islam*, Vol. I, pp. 357, 358.

13 *Tābi'īn* (or, "the followers") is, in the language of the *Muḥaddithīn*, or the traditionists, the title of those persons who met and conversed with one of the companions (*aṣḥāb*) of the Prophet.

14 Uwais al-Ḳaranī, the famous mystic, was a contemporary of Prophet Muḥammad, who, as recorded in *Tadhkirat-ul Awliyā*, had asked 'Umar and 'Alī to give his i.e. Prophet's *muraḳḳa'* to Uwais. Accordingly, 'Umar and 'Alī visited Uwais and gave him the cloak of the Prophet. He died between A.H. 32 and 39 (cf. *Khazīnat-ul-Aṣfiyā*, vol. ii, p. 120). (For details see *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā* ed. Nicholson, vol. I, pp. 15–24; *Kashf-ul-Maḥjūb*, pp. 83, 84; *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā*, pp. 30, 31. *Anwār-ul-'Ārifīn* by Muḥ. Ḥusain, pp. 147-148.)

15 In certain texts the name of Ḥanbal is given. Abū 'Abdullāh Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, known as Imām Ḥanbal, the founder of the fourth school of Sunnī Jurisprudence, was born in A.H. 164 (= 780 A.D.). He was a favourite pupil of ash-Shāfi'ī and enjoys considerable reputation as a traditionist and theologian. He stubbornly refused to subscribe to the new faith of al-Māmūn that the Ḳur'ān was created and thereby seriously endangered his life. His death took place at Baghdād, in 241 A.H. (= 855 A.D.), and it is said that 800,000 men and 60,000 women attended his funeral. (For details see *Ibn Khallikān*, de Slane's translation, vol. i, p. 44; *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, Nicholson, vol. I, pp. 214–219; *Khazīnat-ul-Aṣfiyā*, vol. I, pp. 64–66.

16 Dhun Nūn Abul Fā'id b. Ibrāhīm al-Miṣrī, whose real name was Thawbān, was a pupil of Mālik b. Anas. He lived in Egypt and died at Ghīra, in 245 A.H. = 860 A.D. He is well-known for his piety and sanctity, and Jāmī records several instances of his miraculous acts. His fame, however, mostly rests on the fact that Ṣūfī doctrines were first explained and expressed by him. (For details see *Nafaḥāt*, pp. 32–37; *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, ed. Nicholson, vol. I, pp. 114–134; *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā*, pp. 126, 127; *Kashf-ul-Maḥjūb*, tr. Nicholson, (Gibb Memorial Series), pp. 100–103.

17 Fuḍail b. 'Iyāḍ, with his *Kunnya* Abū 'Alī, was a native of Kūfa, or, as stated by some, of Khurāsān. He is a celebrated, early mystic of Islām and died on the 2nd Rabī' I, 187 A.H. (= 803 A.D.). For further particulars see *Nafaḥāt*, pp. 38, 39; *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, ed. Nicholson, vol. I, 74–85; *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā*, pp. 86, 87; *Khazīnat-ul-Aṣfiyā*, vol. I, pp. 228–235; *Siyar-ul-'Ārifīn*, pp. 24–29; *Kashf-ul-Maḥjūb*, pp. 97–100.

18 Ma'rūf-i-Karkhī, with his *Kunnya* Abū Maḥfūẓ, was the teacher of Sarī as Saḳaṭī. At first he was a magician, but with his father Fīrūz or Fīrūzān accepted Islām at the hands of 'Alī b. Mūsā ar-Riḍā. He died at Baghdād on the 2nd or the 8th Muḥarram, A.H. 200. For further particulars regarding his life and teachings see *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, ed. Nicholson, vol. I, pp. 269–274; *Nafaḥāt*, pp. 39–40; *Khazīnat-ul-Aṣfiyā*, vol. I, pp. 76–78; *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā* pp. 35, 36.

19 Ibrāhīm b. Adham b. Manṣūr b. Yazīd b. Jābir (Abū Isḥāḳ), the famous mystic, was a native of Balkh, where he is said to have ruled as king, but, subse-

quently, due to some sudden impulse, is reported to have abdicated and adopted the life of an ascetic. After his conversion to Ṣūfism, Ibrāhīm went to Syria where he died between 160 and 166 A.H. (= 776–783 A.D.). For further particulars see *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, ed. Nicholson, vol. I, pp. 85–106; *Nafaḥāt*, pp. 42–44; *Khazīnat-ul-Aṣfiyā*, vol. I, pp. 231–236; *Siyar-ul-Aḳṭāb*, pp. 29–45; *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā*, pp. 86, 87.

20 Bishr b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abdur Raḥmān Ḥāfī, with his *Kunnya* Abū Naṣr, is one of the early mystics of Islām. He was an inhabitant of Marv but passed most of his life at Baghdād where he died (according to *Nafaḥāt*, p. 50) on the 10th Muḥarram, 227 A.H. (=842 A.D.) For details see *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, ed. Nicholson, vol. I, pp. 106–114; *Nafaḥāt*, pp. 50, 51; *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā*, p 124; *Khazīnat-ul-Aṣfiyā*, vol. II, pp. 137, 138.

21 Sarī as-Saḳaṭī, with his *Kunnya* Abul Ḥasan, was a disciple of Ma'rūf Karkhī and the teacher of Junaid and other mystics of Baghdād. He died (according to *Nafaḥāt*, p. 55) on the 3rd Ramaḍān, 253 A.H. = (A.D. 868). For further particulars see *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, ed. Nicholson, vol. I, pp. 274–284; *Khazīnat-ul-Aṣfiyā*, vol. I, pp. 78–81; *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā*, p. 36.

22 Abū Yazīd Ṭaifūr b. 'Isā b. Ādam b. Surūshān, better known a Bāyazīd al-Bisṭāmī, was a great mystic of Bisṭām. He led the life of an ascetic and died in 261 A.H. (= 875 A.D.) or 264 (877–976 A.D.). His fame chiefly rests on his introducing the doctrine of *Fanā* in Muslim mysticism and is also reputed to be a "convinced pantheist." His followers are designated after him as *Ṭaifūriya* or *Bisṭāmiya*. For further particulars see *Nafaḥāt*, pp. 59-60; *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, ed. Nicholson, vol. I, pp. 134–179; *Khazīnat-ul-Aṣfiyā*, vol. I, pp. 519–522; *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā*, pp. 73, 74.

23 Abul Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad b. al-Junaid al-Kharrāz al-Ḳawārīrī, also known as *Sayyid-uṭ-ṭā'ifa* and *Ṭā'ūs-ul-'Ulamā*, was a celebrated mystic of Baghdād. He was a pupil of Abū Thawr, who, in his turn, was a student of ash-Shāfi'ī. Junaid died at Baghdād in 297 A.H. (= 910 A.D.) and was buried beside his uncle, the well-known Sarī as-Saḳaṭī. His followers are called *Junaidīs*. For further reference see *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, ed. Nicholson, vol. II, pp. 5–39; *Nafaḥāt*, pp. 81–85; *Khazīnat-ul-Aṣfiyā*, vol. I, pp. 81–86. *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā*, pp. 37–39.

24 Abū Muḥammad Sahl b. 'Abdullāh b. Yūnus, a well-known mystic, was born at Tustar (al-Ahwāz), in 203 A.H.(=818 A.D.). He was a disciple of Dhun Nūn al-Miṣrī and a companion of Muḥammad b. Sawārā, his uncle. Sahl died in exile at Baṣra, in 283 A.H. (= 896 A.D.). His "thousand sayings" were collected by his pupil, Muḥammad b. Sālim (d. 297 A.H.=909 A.D.) His followers are called *Sahlīs*. For further particulars see *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, ed. Nicholson, vol. I, pp. 251–268; *Kashf-ul-Maḥjūb*, tr. Nicholson, pp. 139, 140 and 195–210; *Nafaḥāt*, pp. 69-71; *Khazīnat-ul-Aṣfiyā*, vol. II, pp. 162–164; *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā*, pp. 133, 134.

25 Abū Muḥammad Ruwaim b. Yazīd was a well-known mystic of Baghdād and a disciple of Junaid. In Jurisprudence he was a follower of Dā'ūd-i-Iṣfahānī,

the founder of the Ẓāhirite School. Of his works, *Ghulaṭ-ul-Wājidīn* has been much appreciated by al-Hujwīrī (*Kashf*., p. 135). He died in 303 A.H. = 914 A.D. For further information refer to *Kashf-ul-Maḥjūb*, pp. 135, 136; *Nafaḥāt*, pp. 96–98; *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, ed. Nicholson, vol. II, pp. 64–67; *Khazīnat-ul-Aṣfiyā*, vol. II, p 3; *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā*, p. 110.

26 Abū Sa'īd Aḥmad b. 'Īsā al-Kharrāz was a disciple of Muḥammad b. Manṣūr aṭ-Ṭūsī and a companion of Dhun Nūn, Bishr and Sarī. Both, accordin[illegible] Jāmī (*Nafaḥāt*, p. 75) and Hujwīrī (*Kashf-ul-Maḥjūb*, p. 143), Kharrāz "was [illegible] first who explained the doctrine of annihilation (*fanā*) and subsistence (*baḳā*)." His followers are known as *Kharrāzīs* (see *Kashf*., pp. 241–246). It is said that he left 400 works on mysticism. He died in 286-287 A.H.=900 A.D. For further reference see *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, ed. Nicholson, vol. II, pp. 40–45; *Khazīnat-ul-Aṣfiyā*, vol. II, p. 165; *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā*, pp. 134, 135.

27 Abul Ḥusain Aḥmad b. Muḥammad an-Nūrī, was a companion of Junaid and a disciple of Sarī. He was also known by the name of Ibn al-Baghavī as his father hailed from Baghshūr, or Baghthūr (*Khazīna*, p. 169), a city between Hirāt and Marv. Nūrī was born at Baghdād and died in 295 A.H. = 907 A.D. His followers are known as *Nūrīs* whose principal doctrine is "to regard Ṣūfism (*taṣawwuf*) as superior to poverty (*faḳr*)." (See *Kashf*. pp. 189–195.) For further information see *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, ed. Nicholson, vol. II, pp. 46–55; *Nafaḥāt*, pp. 80, 81; *Kashf-ul-Maḥjūb*, pp. 130–132; *Khazīnat-ul-Aṣfiyā*, vol. II, pp. 169–171; *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā*, pp. 137, 138.

28 Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Khawwāṣ, is the author of some "excellent works on the ethics of Ṣūfism." According to some, he was an inhabitant of Baghdād and a companion of Nūrī and Junaid. He died in 291 A.H.=903-904 A.D. For further particulars see *Kashf-ul-Maḥjūb*, tr. Nicholson (Gibb Memorial Series). pp. 153, 154; *Nafaḥāt*, pp. 137–139; *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā*, pp. 136, 137; *Khazīnat-ul-Aṣfiyā*, vol. II, pp. 167–169.

29 Abū Bakr b. Dulaf b. Jaḥdar ash-Shiblī or Dulaf b. Ja'far was the celebrated disciple of Junaid. According to Jāmī (*Nafaḥāt*, N. Lees' ed., p. 201), he was a Mālikī and learned the *Muwaṭṭā* by heart. He died in 334 A.H. = 945 A.D. at the age of 87. For further particulars refer to *Kashf-ul-Maḥjūb*, tran. Nicholson, (Gibb Memorial Series), pp. 155, 156; *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, ed. Nicholson, Vol. II, pp. 160–182; *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā*, pp. 39–41; *Nafaḥāt*, pp. 174–178.

30 See foot-note on p. 13.

31 Abū Sa'īd Faḍlullāh b. Abul Khair, the celebrated Shaikh and author of mystic quatrains, was born at Mahna, a village in the district of Khāwarān, on December 7, 967 A.D. According to the author of *Akhlāḳ-i-Jalālī*, he is said to have come in personal contact with Avicenna. He died on January 2, 1049 A.D. For further particulars see Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, vol. II, pp. 261–269; *Kashf-ul-Maḥjūb*, tr. Nicholson, (Gibb Memorial Series), pp. 164–166; *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, ed. Nicholson vol. II, pp. 322–337; *Nafaḥāt*, pp. 277–282.

32 Shaikh-ul-Islām Khwāja Abū Isma'īl 'Abdullāh Anṣārī, the well-known

author of the *Munājāt* or "Supplications" and several other Ṣūfī works, was born at Hirāt, on May 4, 1006 A.D. He delivered learned discourses at Hirāt on the life and teachings of the Ṣūfīs, which were embodied in a book, entitled *Ṭabaḳāt i-'Abdullāh Anṣārī*, a copy of which is preserved in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (see Ivanow's Catalogue, pp. 78–83). Anṣārī died in 1088 A.D. For further particulars see Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, vol. II, pp. 269, 270.

33 Shaikh-ul-Islām Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Abul Ḥasan al-Jāmī, surnamed Zhandapīl, was born in the district of Jām, in A.H. 441 A.H. = 1049 A.D. He is celebrated as a mystic and the author of some fourteen works on Ṣūfism, of which only five are said to be extant. He also compiled a *Dīwān* which has been lithographed several times in India. His death took place in 536 A.H. = 1141 A.D. For further particulars see K. B. 'Abdul Muḳtadir's *Catalogue of O.P. Library*; Bankipore, vol. I, pp. 30–32.

34 Muḥammad Ma'shūḳ aṭ-Ṭūsī had, according to *Kashf-ul-Maḥjūb*, "an excellent spiritual state and was aglow with love." According to Jāmī, (*Nafaḥāt* p. 284), Abū Sa'īd b. Abul Khair visited him with several of his companions. He was buried at Ṭūs. See *Nafaḥāt*, pp. 283, 284.

35 Shaikh Aḥmad al-Ghazzālī, the brother of the celebrated Imām al-Ghazzālī, is the author of several Sufico-religious works, the principal among them being *Risāla-i-Sawāniḥ*. He died in 517 A.H. See *Nafaḥāt*, pp. 336, 337; *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā*, pp. 102, 103.

36 Abul Ḳāsim b. 'Alī b. 'Abdullāh al-Gurgānī, was a comtemporary of al-Hujwīrī, the author of *Kashf-ul-Maḥjūb*, who records an instance of personal contact with the Shaikh (see *Kashf.*, pp. 169, 170). He died in 450 A.H. See *Nafaḥāt*, pp. 282, 283; *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā*, p. 75. *Khazīna*, II, pp. 7, 8.

37 Muḥīuddīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abdul Ḳādir b. Abī Ṣāliḥ Mūsā al-Jīlī, one of the greatest and most celebrated saints of Baghdād, was born in 470 A.H. = 1077–1078 A.D. He died in 561 = 1166 A.D.; and the order of the *Ḳādiris*, to which Dārā Shikūh belonged, owes its existence to him. Prof. Margoliouth has given the salient points of his life in the *Encycl. of Islam*, vol. 1, pp. 41, 42; see also *Nafaḥāt*, N. Lees' ed., pp. 586–590 and Shams-ul-'ulamā M. Hidāyat Ḥusain's *Catalogue of Arabic MSS. in the Būhār Library*, Calcutta, p. 132.

38 Abū Madyan Shu'aib b. al-Ḥusain al-Andalūsī, was born at Cautillana (Ḳauṭniyāna), a village near Seville. According to Jāmī, Muḥīuddīn Ibn al-'Arabī received training at his hands. He died in 594 = 1197–1198 A.D., or in 590 A.H. = 1193 A.D., as recorded in *Nafaḥāt*. His Ṣūfistic doctrine may be summed up in the following verse which he is said to have often repeated, "Say, Allāh, and abandon all that is matter, or is connected with it, if thou desirest to attain the true goal." *Encyl. of Islam*, vol. I, p. 99. See *Nafaḥāt*, p. 473, *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā*, p. 67.

39 Shaikh Muḥīuddīn Ibn al-'Arabī was born at Murcia, in Spain, on July 28, 1165 A.D. He is considered to be one of the greatest mystics of Islām. Of his

extant works 150 are known, of which *Fuṣūṣ-ul-Ḥikam*, the *Futūḥāt-ul-Makkīya* and the *Dīwān* enjoy wide celebrity. He came to the East in 1201 A.D. and died at Damascus on November 16, 1240 A.D. See Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, vol. II, pp. 497–501 ; *Nafaḥāt*, Nassau Lees' edition, pp. 633–645.

[40] Abul Jannāb Aḥmad b. 'Umar al-Khiwāḳī, commonly known as Shaikh Najmuddīn Kubrā, was the celebrated mystic of Khwārazm. His title " Kubrā " is derived from the name of " *aṭ-ṭāmmat-ul-Kubrā* ", or " the supreme calamity ", given him on account of his wonderful ability as a debater. He was killed during the sack of Khwārazm by the Mongols, 618 A.H. = 1221. See Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, vol. II, pp. 491–494; *Nafaḥāt*, Nassau Lees' edition, pp. 480–487 ; *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā*, p. 103–105.

[41] Abū Ṭālib (or Abū Ḥāmid) Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr Ibrāhīm, better known as Farīduddīn *'Aṭṭār*, is the celebrated mystic poet. He is said to have composed 114 works but, now, only about 30 are extant. His *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, is one of the most wellknown biographies of Muslim saints and mystics. Various dates have been given of his death, but the most acceptable of all, is, perhaps, 627 A.H. For his life see Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, vol. II, pp. 506–515 and the valuable introduction to *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā* written by Mīrzā Muḥammad of Ḳazwīn.

[42] Jalāluddīn Muḥammad, commonly called Jalāluddīn Rūmī, the author of the celebrated *Mathnawī*, was born at Balkh, in 1207 A.D. He had to leave his native country during his infancy and, after staying at several places, settled at Ḳūnīya, where he came in contact with that mystic of magnetic personality—Shams-i-Tabrīz. Rūmī is also the author of a *Dīwān* which is dedicated to the memory of his spiritual guide, the well-known Shams-i-Tabrīz. He died in February, 1231. For his life see Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, vol. II, pp. 515–525 ; *Nafaḥāt*, p. 409.

[43] Mu'īnuddīn Muḥammad Chishtī, who is considered by many as the greatest mystic of India, was born in 537 A.H. = 1142 A.D. Having travelled in Khurāsān, he came to Baghdād and thence to Dihlī, (598 A.H. = 1193) and finally to Ajmīr, where he died in 633 = 1236. His tomb is visited every year by thousands of his votaries. He is the founder of the *Chishtī* order, which finds the largest number of votaries in India. A lithographed *Dīwān*, popularly ascribed to him, has been conclusively proved to be the work of Mu'īnuddīn Miskīn, the famous preacher of Hirāt and author of *Ma'ārij-un-Nubuwwat*.

[44] Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, called Khwāja Bahāuddīn Naḳshband, the founder of the *Naḳshbandī* order, was born at Bukhārā, in A.H. 728 = 1327 A.D. His sayings were collected by one of his disciples, a copy of which is preserved in the British Museum (Rieu, p. 862). Bahāuddīn died in 791 A.H. = 1388 A.D. See *Nafaḥāt*, Nassau Lees' edition, pp. 439–445; *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā* pp. 78, 79.

[45] Khwāja Nāṣiruddīn 'Ubaidullāh Aḥrār, better known as Khwāja Aḥrār, was born in 806 A.H. = 1403 A.D. His life and teachings form the main topic of 'Alī b. Ḥusain al-Wā'iẓ al-Kāshifī's, *Rashaḥāt 'Ain-ul-Ḥayāt*, which records his death on the 29th of Rabī' I, 895 A.H. (= 1489 A.D.). See *Nafaḥāt*, p. 364.

46 Nūruddīn 'Abdur Raḥmān Jāmī, the well-known author of *Nafaḥāt-ul-Uns* and the last great classical poet of Persia, was born in a village in the district of Jām, on the 23rd Sha'bān, 817 A.H. = 7th November, 1414 A.D. He attended the courts of Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd and Sulṭān Ḥusain Bayḳarā and died at Hirāt, on the 18th Muḥarram, 898 A.H.=9th November, 1492 A.D. Besides *Haft Awrang* and three Dīwāns, *Ashi'at-ul-Lama'āt*, *Arba'īn*, *Shawāhid-un-Nubuwwat* and other works on religious and Ṣūfistic subjects are also written by him. See K. B. 'Abdul-Muḳtadir's *Catalogue of the O.P. Library*, Bankipore, vol. II, pp. 32–90.

47 Mīr Muḥammad b. Sā'īn Dātā, commonly known as Mīyān Mīr or Mīyān Jīv, was born in A.H. 938. He came to Lahore and stayed there for about sixty years. He was highly respected for his piety and was frequently visited by Shāh-Jahān and Dārā Shikūh. His death took place on the 7th Rabī' I, 1045 A.H., at the ripe old age of 107. Dārā Shikūh has written a work, entitled *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā*, dealing with the life of the saint and his disciples, and has also given a notice of the life of the saint in his *Safīnat-ul-Awliyā*.

48 He was one of the spiritual teachers of Dārā, and died on 15th Rabī', 1062, (*Ḥasanāt-ul-'Arifīn*, pp. 53–57.)

49 Mullā Shāh Muḥammad b. Mullā 'Abd Muḥammad, commonly known as Mullā Shāh or Lisānullāh, came from Badakhshān to Lahore in 1023 A.H. = 1614 A.D., and became a disciple of Mīyān Mīr, the great saint of the time. He was highly respected by Dārā Shikūh who was initiated by him into the *Ḳādirī* order in 1049 A.H.=1639 A.D. After the death of Mīyān Mīr (1045 A.H.), Mullā Shāh retired to Kashmīr where he passed the remaining days of his life in a monastery built by Dārā Shikūh and his sister Jahān Ārā. He died in 1072 A.H.=1661-62 A.D. Mullā Shāh was a voluminous writer and has left a *Dīwān*, which has been lithographed, besides several works on Ṣūfism. (For his life see *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā*, pp. 116–158.)

50 Shaikh Shāh Muḥammad Dilrubā is spoken of by Dārā Shikūh as one of his teachers (*Ḥasanāt-ul-'Ārifīn*, pp. 59–61) and considered as "unrivalled in *Faḳīrī*, self-suppression, religious exercises, retirement and singularity." Further, he tells us that now-a-days (i.e., about 1064 A.H.) he has adopted a life of complete isolation and sees the face of none and speaks with visitors from behind the veil. Dārā records a number of very interesting sayings of the saint in his *Ḥasanāt-ul-'Ārifīn* (pp. 59–61).

51 Shaikh Ṭayyib Sarhindī receives very scanty notice in the *Ḥasanāt-ul-'Ārifīn* of Dārā Shikūh. There, (p. 45 of the Urdū text), he is spoken of as a friend of Bābā Piyāray and as one who narrated several very interesting anecdotes of the Bābā. Beyond this, I have not been able to get any other information regarding the life of this Shaikh.

52 Bāwā Lāl Bairāgī was a Hindū saint who was held in high esteem by Dārā Shikūh. For his life and the conversations that he had with Dārā Shikūh see *Introduction*.

XIII. Discourse on *Barhmānd*.

By *Barhmānd* is meant "All" (*kul*), which (term) applies to the determination of the Necessary Self in the shape of a round globe and, as it is not inclined towards or joined to any one, its proportion to all is equal and every creation and exhibition takes place in its midst—hence the name *Barhmānd*, given to it by the Indian monotheists.

XIV. Discourse on the Directions (*Jihāt*).

The Muslim monotheists regard the East, the West, the North, the South, the top and the bottom as each a separate direction. Hence, according to them, there are *six* directions, while, according to the reckoning of the Indian monotheists, there are *ten* directions (in all). They consider the space between the East, the West, the North and the South as each a separate direction and, accordingly, name them *dah dis͟hā*[1].

XV. Discourse on the Skies (*Āsmānhā*).

According to the Indians, the skies, which are called *Gagan*[2], are eight in number. Of these, seven are the stations of the seven planets, namely, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury and the Moon. In the Indian language, however, they are called the seven *nichattars*,[3] that is, *sanīc͟har*[4], *birahspat*[5], *mangal*[6], *sūraj*[7], *sukur*[8], *budh*[9], and *c͟handramās*.[10] Now, the sky which contains all the fixed stars is regarded as the eighth and the learned men call this very sky 'the eighth sphere', or, 'the sphere of fixed stars' (*falak-i-t͟hawābit*), while the Muḥammadan religious doctors (*ahl-i-s͟har'*) designate it *Kursī* in their own phraseology. (So runs the Holy verse): "*His Kursī (throne) extends over the heavens and the earth.*"[11]

The ninth (sky), which is called *mahā akās*[12], has not been included in the (list of) skies; the reason being that it (i.e. *mahā akās*) encircles all and even the *Kursī*, the skies and the earths are contained in it.

XVI. Discourse on the Earth (*Zamīn*).

According to the Indians, the earth has been divided into seven layers, called *Sapat tāl*[13], each of which is named *atal*[14], *batal*[15],

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1 *Daśa diśah.* 2 *Gagana.* 3 *Nakṣatra.* 4 *Śanaiścara.* 5 *Bṛhaspati.* 6 *Maṅgala.* 7 *Sūrya.* 8 *Śukra.* 9 *Budha.* 10 *Candramas.* 11 Ḳur'ān, Ch. 11 : 255. 12 *Mahākāśa.* 13 *Sapta tala.* 14 *Atala.* 15 *Vitala.*

sutal[1], *talātal*[2], *mahātal*[3], *rasātal*[4], and *pātāl*[5]. According to the Muslims also, the earth has seven (layers), as contained in the Holy verse : "*Allāh is He who created seven heavens, and of the earth the like of them.*"[6]

XVII. Discourse on the divisions of the Earth. (*Ḳismat-i-Zamīn*).

The learned men have divided the inhabited globe into seven parts, designating them as the "seven spheres" (*Haft Iḳlīm*), which the Indians name *sapatdīp.*[7] They do not consider the seven spheres as the layers of an onion, rather, they conceive them, as the steps of a ladder. And, the seven mountains, which the Indians call *sapat kulāchal*[8], are regarded by them as surrounding every sphere—their names being—(1) *Sumirū*[9] (2) *Samūpat*[10], (3) *Himakūt*[11], (4) *Himavan*[12], (5) *Nakadh*, (6) *Pārjātar*[13] and (7) *Kailās.*[14] Accordingly, it is mentioned in the Ḳur'ān : "*And the mountains are projections thereon,*" (*i.e. on the earth*).[15]

Now, round each of the seven mountains there are seven seas, which are surrounding each mountain. They are called *Sapat Samundar :*[16] their names being : (1) *Lavan Samundar*[17], or the sea of salt, (2) *Unchch ras samundar*[18], or the sea of sugar-candy, (3) *Surā Samundar*[19], or the sea of wine, (4) *Ghirat Samundar*[20], or the sea of *Ghee*, (5) *Dadh Samundar*[21], or the sea of curd, (6) *Khīr Samundar*[22], or the sea of milk and (7) *Sawād jal,*[23] or the sea of pure water. The fact that the seas are seven in number is ascertainable from the (following) verse of the Ḳur'ān : "*And were every tree that is in the earth* (*made into*) *pens and the sea* (*to supply it with ink*), *with seven more seas to increase it, the words of Allāh would not come to an end.*"[24] Now, in every land, mountain and river, there is a variety of creation. The land, the mountain, and the river which are above all lands, mountains

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1 *Sutala.* 2 *Talātala.* 3 *Mahātala.* 4 *Rasātala.*
5 *Pātāla.* 6 *Ḳur'ān*, Ch. LXV : 12. 7 *Saptadvīpa.*
8 *Sapta Kulācala.* 9 *Sumeru.* 10 *Suktimah.* 11 *Hemakuṭa.*
12 *Himavat.* 13 *Pāriyātra.* 14 *Kailāsa.* 15 *Ḳur'ān* Ch. LXXVIII : 7.
16 *Sapta Samudra.* 17 *Lavaṇa Samudra.* 18 *Ikṣu-rasa Samudra.*
19 *Surā Samudra.* 20 *Ghṛta Samudra.* 21 *Dadhi Samudra.*
22 *Kṣira Samudra.* 23 *Svādujala.* 24 *Ḳur'ān*, Ch. XXXI : 27.

and rivers, are called *Sarag* [1] by the Indian doctors, which, in other words, is called *Bihisht* or *Jannat* (i.e. Paradise) (by the Muslims). Now, the land, the river and the mountain which are below (all) lands, mountains and the rivers, are known as *narak* [2], or *Dūzakh* and *Jahan nam*, that is, Hell and the infernal fire. The Indian monotheists have held that the Heaven and the Hell are not beyond this very universe (of ours), which we call *Barhmānd* and (they further hold) that the seven skies, which are the stations of the seven planets, do not revolve above Paradise but (rather) round it. The roof of Paradise is called *man akās*, that is *'Arsh*, and its (i.e. Paradise) ground is called *Kursī*.

XVIII. Discourse on the World of *Barzakh* (*Interval between the Death of a Man and the Resurrection*).

Our Prophet, may peace be on him and salutation, has said: "*Whosoever dies, verily, there is resurrection for him.*"

After death, *ātmā*, or soul, having left the body of elements, enters, without any delay, the body of *mukt*, which is called *Sūcham Sarīr.*[3] It is a fine body, formed by our action—good action having a good and bad action having a bad form. Now, after "Question and Answer," (which will be made after death), those deserving of Paradise will be taken to Paradise, while those deserving of Hell to Hell; as stated in the Holy verse: "*So as to those who are unhappy, they shall be in the fire; for them shall be sighing and groaning in it: Abiding therein so long as the heavens and the earth endure, except as thy Lord pleases; surely thy Lord is the mighty doer of what He intends. And as to those who are made happy, they shall be in the garden, abiding in it as long as the heavens and the earth endure, except as thy Lord pleases: a gift which shall never be cut off.*" [4]

Now, "bringing out of hell," means that, before the destruction of the skies and the earths, He may, if He wishes, take out (the condemned person) from Hell and carry him to Paradise. In explaining this verse, Ibn Mas'ūd [5], may God be pleased with him, has said that "a period will come in the (life of) Hell when, after a long sojourn, no one will remain

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[1] *Svarga.* [2] *Naraka.* [3] *Sūkṣma Sarīra.*

[4] *Ḳur'ān*, Ch. XI: 106, 107, 108.

[5] Ibn Mas'ūd ('Abdullāh b. Mas'ūd) (b. 28 before Hijra) was a well-known companion of the Prophet. He was present at the battle of Badr. His death took place at al-Madīna in 32 A.H.

inside it." And, "bringing out of Paradise", means that, before the destruction of the skies and the earths, God may, if He wishes, bring up its occupants to the High Paradise (*Firdaws-i-A'lā*)—for His generosity is limitless. The following Holy verse is also a proof (of the above statement): "*And best of all is Allāh's goodly pleasure—that is the grand achievement*"[1]—namely, that God has a Paradise which is larger than other Paradises.

The Indians call it *Baikunth*[2], which, in the opinion of the Indian monotheists, is the greatest salvation.

XIX. Discourse on the Resurrection (*Ḳiyāmat*).

The Indian monotheists have held that, after a very long stay in Heaven or Hell, the *mahā parlī*[3], or the Great Resurrection, will take place, which (fact) is also ascertainable from the Holy verse (of the Ḳur'ān). "*But when the Great Resurrection comes.*"[4] The following verse also speaks of the same, "*And the trumpet shall be blown, so all those that are in the heavens and all those that are in the earth shall swoon, except such as Allāh pleases.*"[5]

This (exception) refers to the group of '*Ārifs* (i.e. Knowers of God) who are immune from senselessness or thoughtlessness both in this and the next world. Now, after the upsetting of the skies, the destruction of the heavens and the hells and the completion of the age of *Barhmānd*, the occupants of Heaven and Hell will achieve *mukt*[6]; that is, both will be absorbed and annihilated in the Self of the Lord, as stated in the Holy verse: "*Every one on it must pass away. And there will endure for ever the person of thy Lord, the Lord of glory and honour.*"[7]

XX. Discourse on *Mukt* (Salvation).

Mukt means the annihilation and disappearance of determinations, in the Self of the Lord, as it appears from the Holy verse: "*And best of all is Allāh's goodly pleasure—that is the grand achievement.*"[8]

Now, entrance into *Riḍwān-i-Akbar*, or the High Paradise, is a great salvation, called *mukt*. *Mukt* is of three kinds:

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1 *Ḳur'ān*, Ch. IX: 72. 2 *Vaikuṇṭha*. 3 *Mahāpralaya*.

4 *Ḳur'ān*, Ch. LXXIX: 34. Mawlawī Muḥammad 'Alī has translated, as "the great predominating calamity" which, he says, may not necessarily refer to Resurrection. 5 *Ḳur'ān* Ch. XXXIX: 68. 6 *Mukti*.

7 *Ḳur'ān*, Ch. LV: 26, 27. 8 *Ḳur'ān*, Ch. IX: 72.

First, *Jiwan mukt*[1], or salvation in life. According to them (i.e. the Indians), *Jiwan mukt* consists in one's attainment of salvation and freedom, by being endowed with the wealth of knowing and understanding the Truth, in seeing and considering everything of this world as *one*, in ascribing to God, and not to oneself, all (i.e. man's) deeds, actions, movements and behaviour, whether good or bad, and in regarding oneself, together with all other existing objects, as in complete identity with the Truth. Further, he should regard God as manifesting Himself in all the stages and should look upon *Barhmānd*, which the Ṣūfīs call '*Ālam-i-Kubrā* (or, the Great World) and is (moreover) the "Complete Form" of God, as the corporeal body of God. He should regard '*Unṣur-i-A'ẓam* (or the Great Element) namely, *mahā akās*, as *Sūcham Sarīr*[2], or the fine body of God, and should consider the Self of God as the soul of that body. Further, considering Him as One Fixed Person, he should behold or know nothing, save the Self of that Unique, Incomparable Lord, whether (it be) in a particle of dust or a mountain, whether in the manifest or the hidden world. Now, just as a human being, who is called the 'smaller world' ('*Ālam-i-Ṣaghīr*), is one individual, despite his various and numerous limbs and just as his personality is not multitudinous on account of his many limbs, so, that Unique Self cannot be considered multitudinous on account of the variety of determinations. (Verse):

"The whole world, whether of souls or bodies,
Is One Fixed Person—called '*Ālam*."

So, one should consider God, the Most Holy and High, Who is not separated even by a hair's breadth, as the soul and life of that "Fixed Person"; as is said by Shaikh Sa'duddīn Ḥummu'ī.[3] *Quatrain*:

"Truth is the soul of the world, the whole world the trunk,
Souls, angels and senses are the bodies.
The skies, the elements, the three Kingdoms of nature (i.e., animal, vegetable and mineral) and the bodies—
This is Monotheism and all else is device and artifice."

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[1] *Jīvanmukti*. [2] *Sūkṣma Sarīra*.

[3] Sa'duddīn b. al-Muwayyad Ḥummu'ī was a great mystic and a writer of numerous works on Ṣūfism. A summary of 400 of his works, entitled *Kashf-ul-Ḥaḳā'iḳ*, is noticed in A.S.B. Catalogue of Persian MSS., p. 565. He died in 650 A.H. = 1253 A.D.

Similarly, the Indian monotheists, like Vayās[1] and others, having considered *Barhmānd*, which is *'Ālam-i-Kabīr* (or the great world), as one individual self, have, accordingly, described the different limbs of its (i e. *Barhmānd's*) body. The reason (of such description) is that whenever a pure mystic casts his eyes on anything he conceives that he is looking at a particular limb of *mahā puras*[2], that is, the Self of the Truth, Sanctified and Exalted is He.

(Now), *Pātāl*[3], which is the seventh layer of the earth, is the sole of *mahā puras'* foot; *Rasātal*[4], which is the sixth layer, is the upper part of *mahā puras'* foot; the Satans are the fingers of *mahā puras'* foot; the steeds used by the Satans are the nails of *mahā puras'* foot; *Mahātal*[5], which is the fifth layer of the earth, is the ankle-bone of *mahā puras*; *Talātal*[6], which is the fourth layer of the earth, is the shank of *mahā puras*; *Sutal*[7], which is the third layer of the earth, is the knee of *mahā puras*; *Batal*[8] which is the second layer of the earth, is the thigh of *mahā puras*; *Atal*[9], which is the first layer of the earth, is the special organ of *mahā puras*; *Kāl*[10], or time, is the pace of *mahā puras*; *Parjānat dīvtā*[11], who is the cause of birth and issue throughout the whole world, is the sign of manhood and virility of *mahā puras*; rain is the seed of *mahā puras*; *bhuluk*[12], namely, from the earth up to the sky, is the part below the navel of *mahā puras*; the three southern and the three northern mountains are the right and the left hands of *mahā puras*; *sumir parat*[13] is the buttocks of *mahā puras*; the light of the false dawn is the thread of the lace of *mahā puras'* garments; the light of the true dawn is the whiteness of *mahā puras'* sheet (*chādar*); the evening when the twilight is visible is the garment, covering *mahā puras'* private parts; the sea, namely, the encircling ocean, is the circumference and depth of *mahā puras'* navel; *Bādavānal*[14], namely, the place of the fire, which even today is sucking the water of the seas and is preventing storms and will suck all waters on the day of Resurrection, is the heat and warmth of *mahā puras'* stomach; the rivers are the veins of *mahā puras* and, as

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1 *Vyāsa.* 2 *Mahāpuruṣa.* 3 *Pātāla.* 4 *Rasātala.*
5 *Mahātala.* 6 *Talātala.* 7 *Sutala.* 8 *Vitala.*
9 *Atala.* 10 *Kāla.* 11 *Parjanya devatā.* 12 *Bhūloka.*
13 *Sumeruparvata.* 14 *Vāḍavānala.*

all veins reach the navel, so all the rivers meet the ocean; the *Gangā*, the *Jamnā* and the *Sarastī* are the principal veins (*Shahrag*) of *mahā puras; anklā, jamnān, biklā, jamunān, Sakhmanā*[1] and *Sarastī bhuluk*, which is above *bhuluks* and is the abode of *Gandharp dīvtās*[2] and where all sounds originate, are the stomach of *mahā puras;* the fire of "the smaller Resurrection" (*Ḳiyāmat-i-Ṣughrā*) is the morning appetite of *mahā puras;* the drying up of waters in "the smaller Resurrection" is the thirst of *mahā puras*; *sarag luk*,[3] which is above *bhuluk* and is one of the divisions of Paradise, is the chest of *mahā puras*, for, it is the abode of perpetual festivity, happiness and peace; all the stars are the various jewels of *mahā puras ;* gift, before the asking, which is liberality and bounty, is the right breast and gift, after the asking, which is donation, is the left breast of *mahā puras ;* moderation (*i'tidāl*), which is composed of *rajūgun*,[4] *satūgun*[5] and *tamūgun*,[6] called *parakaart*[7] (collectively), is the heart of *mahā puras*; and, just as water-lily has three colours, namely, white, red and violet, so the heart also, whose colour is like that of a water-lily, has three qualities, (which may be identified with) the three colours of manifestation, namely, *Barhmā*, *Bishun* and *Mahīsh ; Barhmā*, who is also called *man*, is the beating and intention of the heart of *mahā puras ; Bishun* is the love and mercy of *mahā puras ; Mahīsh* is the wrath and rage of *mahā puras*; the moon, which removes the heat of pain and grief, is the smile and the happy mood of *mahā puras*; the night is the bow of *mahā puras*; the *sumir parat*[8] mountain is the backbone of *mahā puras*; the mountains that are on the right and the left of *Sumirū* are the bones of the ribs of *mahā puras ;* the two hands of *mahā puras* are the eight guardian angels who have *Indar*[9] as their chief, (the latter) possessing the complete power of bestowing and pouring and of withholding and stopping rain; the right hand of *mahā puras* is that of showing generosity and pouring rain, while the left one is that of holding the same back; *amcharā*,[10] or the *Houris* (Ḥūr) of Paradise, are the lines of the palm of *mahā puras*; the angels, called *chach*,[11] are the nails of the hand of *mahā puras;* the three *luk pāl*[12] angels are the right hand of *mahā puras*; .... the angel named *jam*[13] is the arm of *mahā puras*; the remaining

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[1] These words could not be identified. [2] *Gandharva devatā.* [3] *Svargaloka.*
[4] *Rajoguṇa.* [5] *Satvaguṇa.* [6] *Tamoguṇa.* [7] *Prakṛti.*
[8] *Sumeruparvata.* [9] *Indra.* [10] *Apsaras.* [11] *Yakṣa.*
[12] *Lokapala.* [13] *Yama.*

luk pāl angels are the left hand of *mahā puras*; the angel *Kubair* is the knee of *mahā puras*.

Kalap birach[1], or the *Ṭūbā*[2] tree, is the wand of *mahā puras*; the southern and the northern poles are the right and the left shoulders, respectively, of *mahā puras*; the *luk pāl* angel, named *Baran*, who is the superintendent of water and resides in the west, is the bone of *mahā puras*' neck; *anāhat*,[3] or *Sulṭān-ul-Adhkār*, is the thin voice of *mahā puras*; *mahar luk*[4], which is above *sarag luk*[5], is the throat and neck of *mahā puras*; *jan luk*[6], which is above *mahar luk*, is the auspicious face of *mahā puras*; the will of the world is the chin-pit of *mahā puras*; the avarice of the world is the lower lip of *mahā puras*; the sense of shame and modesty is the upper lip of *mahā puras*; the chest, that is, (the abode of) love and attachment, is the gums of *mahā puras*; the meal of the whole world is the food of *mahā puras*; the element of water is the palate and mouth of *mahā puras*; the element of fire is the tongue of *mahā puras*; *sarastī* is the faculty of speech of *mahā puras*; the four *Vedas*, or the four books of truth, are the speeches of *mahā puras*; *māyā*, or love, which is the cause of creation of the universe, is the laughter and good humour of *mahā puras*; the eight directions of the world are the two ears of *mahā puras*; *Ashnī Kumār*[7], who are the two angels of exceeding beauty, are the two nostrils of *mahā puras*; *gandha tanmātar*[8], or the element of dust, is the smelling faculty of *mahā puras*; the element of air is the breathing faculty of *mahā puras*; *jan luk* and *tap luk*,[9] which are the fifth and sixth divisions of Paradise, are illumined with the light of His Self, and their southern and northern halves are the right and the left eyes, respectively, of *mahā puras*; the pure light (or, *nūr*), which is called "the Eternal Sun," is the faculty of eye-sight possessed by *mahā puras*; the whole creation is the favourable glance of *mahā puras*; the days and the nights of the world are the twinklings of the eyes of *mahā puras*; the angel *Mitr*, who is the commissary of love and friendship and the angel *Tavastā*[10], who is the commissary of wrath and rage,

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1 *Kalpa vṛikṣa.*

2 *Ṭūbā*, a tree on the seventh heaven, is said to be the abode of Gabriel. It is stated that no one can go above the Tree—the only exception being made in the case of Muḥammad on the night of *Mi'rāj*, or, Ascent.

3 *Anāhata.*

4 *Mahar loka.*

5 *Svaragaloka.*

6 *Janaloka.*

7 *Aśvinī kūmāra.*

8 *Gandhatanmātra.*

9 *Tapoloka.*

10 *Tvasta*

is the two eye-brows of *mahā puras; tap luk,* which is above *jan luk,* is the forehead of *mahā puras* ; and the *sat luk,* which is above all *luks,* is the skull of *mahā puras*; the verses of *Tawḥīd* (monotheism) and the Book of God are the *dura mater* of *mahā puras*; the black clouds, which carry the water of *mahā parlī* [1] (i.e., the great dissolution), are the hairs of *mahā puras*; the vegetation of all the *luks* is the hair of *mahā puras'* body ; *Lachmī* [2], who is the wealth and adornment of the world, is the beauty of *mahā puras*; the shining sun is the purity of *mahā puras'* body ; *bhūt akās* [3] are the pores of *mahā puras'* body; *chid akās* [4] is the soul of *mahā puras'* body; the form of every single human being is the abode of *mahā puras*; the perfect man is the closet and special abode of *mahā puras*; as He said to David, may peace be on him, "Oh David, build a house for Me." (He) replied, "Oh God! Thou art exempt from habitation." (God) said, "Thou art my abode. Make thy house void of 'others'." The attributes, found in abundance in *Barhmānd,* are present in man who is the epitome of "the Great World" (*'Ālam-i-Kabīr*). In fine, one who beholds and understands in this way attains *jīwan mukt* [5], and the following verse (of the Ḳur'ān) is in favour of the above: "*Rejoicing in what Allāh has given them out of His grace.*"[6]

Secondly, Sarab mukt,[7] or the liberation from every kind of bondage, consists in absorption in His Self. This (salvation) is universally true in the case of all living beings, and, after the destruction of the sky, the earth, the Paradise, the Hell, the *Barhmānd* and the day and the night, they will attain salvation by annihilation in the Self (of the Lord). And the Holy verse: "*And best of all is Allāh's goodly pleasure—that is the grand achievement.*" [8] and "*Now surely the friends of Allāh—they shall have no fear nor shall they grieve,*" [9] is a reference to this very *mukt,* or salvation.

Thirdly, Sarbadā mukt [10], or later salvation, consists in becoming an *'Arif* (i.e. knower of God) and in attaining freedom and salvation, in every stage of "progress" (*sair*), whether this (progress) be made in the day or the night, whether in the manifest or the hidden world, whether the *Barhmānd* appears or not and whether (it takes place) in

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[1] *Mahāpralaya.* [2] *Lakṣmī.* [3] *Bhūtākāśa.* [4] *Cidākāśa.*
[5] *Jīvanmukti.* [6] *Ḳur'ān,* Ch. III : 169. [7] *Sarvamukti.*
[8] *Ḳur'ān,* Ch. IX : 72. [9] *Ḳur'ān,* Ch. X : 62. [10] *Sarbadā mukti.*

the past, the present or the future i.e. *bhūt*[1], *bhūsht*[2], *bartamān*.[3] And, wherever the Holy *Kur'ān* speaks of Paradise, "*Abiding therein* (i.e. in *jannat*) *for ever*"[4], there, (the word) *jannat* (Paradise) applies to *ma'rifat* (or, knowledge) of God and *abadā* (ابدا) refers to the perpetuity of this *mukt* (or, salvation); the reason being that, in whatever state (one) may be, the capacity to know God (i.e. of *ma'rifat*) and to receive Eternal favour is (absolutely) necessary. Hence, the following two Holy verses have been revealed (to give good tidings) to such a group (of persons) as attain *mukt*, or, salvation: "*Their Lord gives them good news of mercy from Himself and* (*His*) *good pleasure and gardens, wherein lasting blessings shall be theirs; abiding therein for ever; surely Allāh has a Mighty reward with Him*"[5] and, *Give good news* (*Oh Prophet*) *to the believers who do good that they shall have a goodly reward;* (i.e. a *ma'rifat*, or, knowledge of God, the Most Holy and High, which, certainly, is a handsome reward for the '*Ārifs*, namely, that of *Firdaws-i-Ā'lā*) *staying in it* (i.e. in *Firdaws-i-A'lā*) *for ever*."[6]

XXI. Discourse on Day and Night (*Rūz wa Shab*).

Divinity of Creation and Concealment.—According to the Indian monotheists, the age of *Barhmā*, who is identical with Gabriel, and the annihilation of *Barhmānd* and the end of the "Day of Creation," or the "Day of Divinity," is eighteen *anj* years of the world, each *anj* (again) is equal to one thousand years, as mentioned in the two Holy verses of the *Kur'ān*: "*And surely a day with thy Lord is as a thousand years of what you number.*"[7] The other Holy verse is: "*To Him ascend the angels and the Spirit* (that is *Jibra'īl* or *Barhmā*) *in a day the measure of which is fifty thousand years*,"[8] and each day of which consists of one thousand years, as may be deduced from the former verse (of the *Kur'ān*). So, according to my reckoning, the age of Gabriel and the duration of the life of Day and the whole Universe, which is identical with *Barhmānd*, is (equal to) eighteen *anj* years of the world; each *anj* of which (in its turn) is equal to one thousand years—there being not the least increase or decrease. Such is the reckoning of the Indian monotheists. It must also be known that their (i.e. Indians') specification of the figure *eighteen*

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1 *Bhūta.* 2 *Bhaviṣyat.* 3 *Vartamāna.* 4 *Kur'ān*, Ch. IX : 22.
5 *Kur'ān*, Ch. IX : 21, 22. 6 *Kur'ān*, Ch. XVIII : 2, 3.
7 *Kur'ān*, Ch. XXII : 47. 8 *Kur'ān*, Ch. LXX : 4.

is based on (the figures) ' eight ' and ' ten,' beyond which, they say, no thing can be counted. Now, " the Smaller Resurrections," that have taken place in the past and will so recur in future, are called *khandh parlī* [1], which come either like the innundation of water or the conflagration of fire or the storm. And, after this period has elapsed, this day (of ours) will turn into evening and " the Great Resurrection," which they call *mahā parlī*, will take place ; as ordained in the following two verses : " *On the day when the earth shall be changed into a different earth* ; " [2] and " *On the day when We will roll up heaven like the rolling up of the scroll for writings.*" [3] Now, after " the Great Resurrection," on the " Night of Concealment," which is parallel to the Day of Manifestation, all the " determinations " will be absorbed in the Self of the Lord—its duration being equal to eighteen *anj* years of the world. And, the period of *avasthātam* [4], which is identical with *sakhūpat* and *Jabarūt*, is equal to the age of the Lord, who is undisturbed by the creation of mortals or the destruction of the Universe ; and the verse of the *Ḳur'ān* : " *Soon will We apply Ourselves to you, O you two armies* (of *jin* and human beings)," [5] is a reference to this very *sakhūpat*. During the life of the earth, the Lord God dwells in the stage of *Nāsūt* (or, the Human World) and, during the period of " the Smaller Resurrections," in the stage of *Malakūt* (or, the Invisible World) and, after " the Great Resurrection, in *Jabarūt* (or, the Highest Heaven).

O my friend, whatever I have recorded in this chapter is the outcome of much painstaking and considerable research and is in accordance with my own inspiration, which, although you may have not read in any book or heard from any one, is also in conformity with the two (abovementioned) Holy verses (of the *Ḳur'ān*). Now, if this (exposition) falls heavy on the ears of certain defective ones, I entertain no fear on that account : " *Then surely Allāh is Self-sufficient, above any need of the worlds.*" [6]

XXII. Discourse on the Infinity of the Cycles (*Adwār*).

According to the Indian doctors, God, the Most High, is not confined to these days or these nights only but, that, when these nights will termi-

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[1] *Khaṇḍa pralaya.* [2] *Ḳur'ān*, Ch. XIV : 48. [3] *Ḳur'ān*, Ch. XXI : 104.
[4] *Avasthātman.* [5] *Ḳur'ān*, Ch. LV : 31. [6] *Ḳur'ān*, Ch. III : 96.

nate, days will re-appear and when these days will terminate, nights will re-appear—this process continuing without end. This (process) is named *anād parwāh* [1] and Khwāja Hāfiẓ, may mercy be on him, having his eye on this Infinity of cycles, has said :

" There is no end to my story, or to that of the beloved,
For, whatever hath no beginning can have no end."

Now, whatever peculiarities of the manifestation and concealment of His Self have appeared in previous days and nights will also re-appear, in exactly the same manner, in the following days and nights, as stated in the Holy verse : " *As We originated the first creation, (so) We shall reproduce it.*" [2]

So, after the termination of this cycle, the world of Adam, the father of men, will re-appear in exactly the same manner ; and, as such, it will be endless. And, the verse of the *Ḳur'ān* : " *As He brought you forth in the beginning, so shall you also return* ", [3] is also an argument, proving the above (statement). If, however, any one doubts and says that the finality of our Prophet, may peace be on him, is not proved by this exposition, I will tell him that next day also, our Prophet, may peace be on him, will re-appear in an exactly similar manner and on that day (also) he will be called, " the Last of the Prophets." The following Tradition, which is narrated in connection with the night of Ascent (*Mi'rāj*), is an argument to this effect. It is said that our Prophet, may peace be on him, saw a line of camels, proceeding (in succession) without any break, and on each of which two bags were laden, in each of which there was a world like that of ours and in each such world there was a Muḥammad (just) like him. (Our Prophet) asked Gabriel, " What is this ?" (Gabriel) replied, " Oh Prophet of God ! since my creation, I have been witnessing this line of camels proceeding with bags (laden on them), but, I am also unaware of their (real) significance." This, (as I believe), is a reference to the Infinity of the Cycles.

Praise be to God for His favours, Who granted me the grace of completing this tract, entitled *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain*, in the year 1065 A.H., which corresponds to the forty-second year of the age of this unafflicted and unsorrowing *faḳir*, Muḥammad Dārā Shikūh.

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1 *Anādi pravāha.*
2 *Ḳur'ān*, Ch. XXI : 104.
3 *Ḳur'ān*, Ch. VII : 29.

مجمع البحرين

از تصنيف

شاهزاده محمّد دارا شكوه

كه در سنه ١٠٦٤ هجري قدسي باتمام رسيد
و حالا در سنه ١٣٤٧ هجري مطابق ١٩٢٨ ميلادي

بسعي و تصحيح اقل عباد

محمّد محفوظ الحق

مُدرّس زبان فارسي و اُردو در پريسيڈنسي كالج كلكته

بحليهٔ طبع آراسته گرديد

فهرست مضامین مجمع البحرین

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

بنامِ آنکه او نامي ندارد * بهر نامي که خواني سر بر آرد (۱)

حمدِ موفور یگانهٔ را که دو زلفِ کفر و اسلام که نقطهٔ مقابل بهم اند بر چهرهٔ زیباي بی مثل و نظیرِ خویش ظاهر گردانید - و هیچ یکی را از آنها حجابِ رخِ نیکوی خود نساخته - * نظم *

کفر و اسلام در رهش پویان
وَحْدَهٗ لا شَرِیْكَ لَهٗ گویان (۲)

در همه اوست ظاهر و همه ازوست جلوه‌گر اوّل اوست و آخر اوست و غیر او موجود نباشد - * رباعي (۳) *

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(۱) این شعر از حدیقةالحقیقة حکیم سنائیِ غزنویست، و دارا شکوه هم رباعي درین معنی گفته :

یک ذرّه ندیدیم ز خورشید جدا * هر قطرهٔ آب هست عینِ دریا
حق را بچه نام کس نتواند خواندن * هر نام که هست هست از اسماء خدا

و جامي علیه الرحمه هم درین معنی گفته :

گه باده و گه جام خوانیم ترا * گه دانه و گه دام خوانیم ترا
جز نام تو بر لوحِ جهان چیزی نیست * آیا بکدام نام خوانیم ترا

(حسنات العارفین صفحه ۵۴ و صفحه ۴۱)

(۲) از دربار اکبري مولفهٔ مولوي محمد حسین آزاد (صفحه ۴۹۲) معلوم میشود که ابوالفضل این شعر را برای عمارتي اختیار کرده بود که اکبر در کشمیر بنا نهاده و گویند که این عمارتي بود مشترک درمیان هنود و اهل اسلام *

(۳) این رباعي از کلام مولانا عبدالرحمن جامي عَلَیْهِ الرَّحْمَه است که داراشکوه آنرا در حسنات العارفین (صفحه ۴۱) در ضمن شطحیات مولانا مرحوم هم نقل نموده *

همسایه و همنشین و همره همه اوست
در دلقِ گدا و اطلسِ شه همه اوست
در انجمنِ فرق و نهانخانهٔ جمع
بالله همه اوست ثُمَّ بالله همه اوست

و درودِ نا محدود بر مظهرِ اتم باعثِ ایجادِ عالم حضرت محمّد صَلَّی اللهُ عَلَیْهِ وَ سَلَّم و بر آلِ کرام و بر اصحابِ عظام اُو باد - امّا بعد میگوید فقیر بیحزن و اندوه محمد دارا شکوه که بعد از دریافتِ حقیقتُ‌الحقایق و تحقیقِ رموز و دقایقِ مذهبِ برحقِ صوفیه و فائز گشتن باین عطیّهٔ عظمی در صددِ آن شد که درک کند مشربِ موحّدانِ هند - و با بعضی از محقّقانِ این قوم و کاملانِ ایشان که بنهایتِ ریاضت و ادراک و فهمیدگی و غایتِ تصوّف و خدا یابی رسیده بودند مکرّر صحبتها داشته و گفتگو نموده - جز اختلافِ لفظي در دریافت و شناختِ حق تفاوتي ندید - ازین جهت سخنانِ فریقین را با هم تطبیق داده و بعضی از سخنان که طالبانِ حق را دانستنِ آن ناگزیر و سودمند است فراهم آورده رسالهٔ ترتیب داده - و چون مجموعهٔ حقایق و معارفِ دو طایفهٔ حق‌شناس بود لهذا بمجمع البحرین موسوم گردانید بموجب قولِ اکابر که اَلتَّصَوُّفُ هُوَ الْاِنْصَافُ وَالتَّصَوُّفُ تَرْکُ التَّکْلِیْفِ، پس هرکه انصاف دارد و از اهلِ ادراک است در مي یابد که در تحقیقِ این مراتب چه غور رفته و یقین که فهمیدگانِ صاحب ادراک حظِ وافر ازین رساله خواهند برد - و کُند فهمانِ طرفین را نصیبهٔ از فواید آن نخواهد شد - و این تحقیق را موافقِ کشف و ذوقِ خود برای اهلبیتِ خود نوشته ام، و مرا با عوام هر دو قوم کاري نیست - چنانچه خواجه عبیدالله احرار (۱) قُدِّس

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(۱) خواجه ناصرالدین عبید الله که بلقب خواجه احرار معروف اند، از صوفیان جلیل القدر طایفهٔ نقشبندیه بودند، ولادت شان در سنه ۸۰٦ ه بوقوع آمده و ایشان بیشتر ایام

سِرُّهُ فرموده که اگر دانم که کافری پر خطا زمزمهٔ توحید بهنجاري مي سراید میروم و از وی میشنوم و منّت دار میشوم - وَ مِنَ اللهِ التَّوْفِیْقُ وَ الْاِسْتِعَانَه *

۱ — بیانِ عناصر

بدانکه عناصر پنج اند و مادّهٔ جمیع مخلوقاتِ ناسوتي همین پنج اند - اوّل عنصر اعظم که آن را اهلِ شرع عرشِ اکبر میگویند - دوم باد - سیوم آتش - چهارم آب و پنجم خاک و این را بزبانِ اهلِ هند پانچهه بهوت مي نامند - اَکَاسْ و بَائی و تیِجْ و جَلْ و پِرْتهمِي - و اکاس سه اند، بُهوْت اکاس، مَنْ اکاس، و چِدْ اکاس - آنچه محیطِ عناصر باشد آن را بهوت اکاس گویند، و آنچه محیطِ موجودات است آن را من اکاس نامند و آنچه بر همه محیط و در همه جا باشد آن را چد اکاس خوانند، و چد اکاس بر حق است یعني حادث نیست - و بر حدوث و فنای آن هیچ آیهٔ قرآني و بید که کتاب آسماني باشد دلالت نمي کند - از چد اکاس اوّل چیزی که بهم رسید "عشق" بود که آن را بزبانِ موحدانِ هند مّایا گویند وَ کُنْتُ کَنْزاً مَخْفِیاً فَاَحْبَبْتُ اَنْ اُعْرَفَ فَخَلَقْتُ الْخَلْقَ برین دال است، یعني بودم من گنجي پنهان پس دوست داشتم که شناخته شوم پس ظاهر کردم خلق را برای شناختِ خود - و از "عشق" روحِ اعظم یعني جیو آتمان پیدا شد که آن را حقیقتِ محمّدي گویند و آن اشاره بروحِ کُلّیِ آن سرور صَلٰوةُ اللهِ وَ سَلَامُهُ عَلَیْهِ است،

زندگاني خویش در سمرقند بسر بردند و بتاریخ ۲۹ ربیع الاوّل سنه ۸۹۵ ھ وفات یافتند، ملاّ علي بن حسین الواعظ الکاشفي در "رشحات عین الحیات" تذکرهٔ خواجه احرار بتفصیل نوشته، (و هم رجوع کنید به نفحات الانس جامي صفحه ۳۶۴ - ۳۷۰ و سفینة الاولیاء از داراشکوه صفحه ۸۱)- و داراشکوه قول بالا را که از خواجه احرار مروی است، در حسنات العارفین (صفحه ۳۹) هم نقل نموده *

و موحّدانِ هند آن‌را هَرن گَربهه و اَوَستهات آتمان نامند که اشاره بمرتبهٔ اعظمیت است - و بعد از آن عنصرِ باد است که آن‌را نفس‌الرحمٰن گویند، و ازان نَفَس باد پیدا شد و چون آن نَفَس بجهتِ حبس در حضرتِ وجود که در هنگام نفخیت برای ظهور داشت گرم بر آمد از باد آتش پیدا شد - و چون در همان نَفَس صفتِ رحمانیت و اتّحاد بود سرد شد و از آتش آب پیدا شد - امّا چون عنصرِ باد و آتش از غایتِ لطافت محسوس نیستند و آب به نسبتِ آن هر دو محسوس است، بجهت محسوس بودنِ آن بعضی گفته اند که اوّل آب پیدا شد و بعد از آن عنصرِ خاک، و این خاک بمنزلهٔ کفِ آن آب است، چون شیری که در زیرِآن آتش باشد و بجوش آید و کف کند -

* بیت *

چه دانستم که این دریای بی پایان چنین باشد
بخارش آسمان گردد کفِ دریا زمین باشد

* دیگر *

یک قطرهٔ چو بیضه جوشیده گشت دریا
کف کرد و کف زمین شد وز دودِ او سما شد

و بر عکسِ این در قیامتِ کبری که آن‌را بزبانِ اهلِ هند مَها پَرلي گویند اوّل فنای خاک خواهد شد و آن را آب فرو خواهد بُرد و آب را آتش خُشک خواهد ساخت و آتش را باد فرو خواهد نشاند، و باد با روحِ اعظم در مَها اکاس فرو خواهد رفت كُلُّ شَيْءٍ هَالِكٌ إِلَّا وَجْهَهُ (۱) - یعني همه چیز فاني خواهد شد مگر روی خدای تعالی که مَها اکاس باشد - كُلُّ مَنْ عَلَيْهَا فَانٍ وَّ يَبْقَىٰ وَجْهُ رَبِّكَ ذُوالْجَلٰلِ وَالْاِكْرَامِ (۲) یعني همهٔ آنچه که بر

(۱) قرآن مجید، ۲۸ : ۸۸ *
(۲) قرآن مجید، ۵۵ : ۲۶ *

روی زمین بُود فاني خواهد شد و باقي مانَدْ روی پروردگارِ تو که صاحبِ جلال و اکرام است - پس درین دو آیهٔ کریمه که برای فنای جمیع اشیاست قید وجه که رفته مراد مَهَا اکاس است که آن فنا پذیر نیست و الاّ میفرمودی کُلُّ شَیْءٍ هَالِكٌ اِلّا هُوَ یعني همه چیز فاني خواهد شد مگر ذاتِ اَو - و قیدِ رو برای مَهَا آکاس باشد چه مَهَا اکاس بمنزلهٔ بدنِ لطیفِ آن ذاتِ مقدّس است - و خاک را بزبانِ اهل هند دیوی نامند که همه چیز ازو پیدا شده است و باز همه چیز درو فرو میرود بموجبِ آیهٔ کریمه مِنْهَا خَلَقْنٰکُمْ وَ فِيْهَا نُعِیْدُکُمْ وَ مِنْهَا نُخْرِجُکُمْ تَارَةً اُخْرٰی (۱) - یعني از خاک خلق کردیم شما را و در آن خاک باز خواهیم برد شما را و ازآن خاک بیرون مي آریم شما را بار دیگر *

۲ — ببیانِ حواس

موافقِ این پنج عناصر پنج حواس اند که بزبانِ اهلِ هند آن را پنج اِندری گویند، شامّه ذایقه باصره سامعه ولامسه که آن را بزبانِ اهل هند گِهران، رَسْنا چَهچهه سَروتر و تَوَکْ میگویند - و محسوساتِ آن را گندهه رَس رُوپ سَبد و سَپَرس نامند - و هریکی ازین حواسِ پنجگانه از جنس یکی ازین عناصر باشد و منسوب بآن - شامّه منسوب است بخاک چه هیچ یکی از عناصر بُوي ندارد الاّ خاک و احساسِ بوی شامّه میکند - و ذایقه منسوب است بآب چنانچه آب ظاهر است در زبان - و باصره مناسبت دارد بآتش چنانچه درکِ رنگها بچشم است و نورانیّت در هر دو ظاهر است - و لامسه را نسبت

(۱) قرآن مجید، ۲۰ : ۵۵ *

است بباد چرا که سببِ احساسِ ملموسات باد است - و سامعه منسوب است بعنصر اعظم که مها اکاس باشد که سببِ ادراکِ اصوات است - و از راهِ سمع حقیقتِ مها اکاس بر اهل دل ظاهر میشود و دیگری بر آن مطّلع نیست - و این شغلیست مشترک درمیانِ صوفیه و موحّدانِ هند که صوفیه این را شغلِ پاسِ انفاس (۱) میگویند و ایشان در اصطلاح خود دُهن می نامند - امّا حواسِ باطن نیز پنج اند، ۱ حسِّ مشترک ۲ متخیّله ۳ متفکّره ۴ حافظه و ۵ واهمه و نزد اهلِ هند چهار اند ۱ بُدهه و ۲ مَن و ۳ اَهَنکار و ۴ چِت و مجموعهٔ این چهار را اَنتهه کَرَن گویند که بمنزلهٔ پنجم آنها است - چِت یک عادت دارد که آن را سَتْ پرکرت گویند و این عادت بمنزلهٔ پای اوست که اگر آن منقطع شود چِت از دویدن باز ماند - اوّل بُدهِ یعني عقل، و بُدهه آنست که طرفِ خیر رود و طرفِ شر نرود، دویم مَن که عبارت از دل است و آن دو قوّت دارد سنکلپ بِکلپ یعني عزیمت و فسخ، سیوم چِت که پیکِ دل است و کارِ او دویدن باشد بهر سو و تمیز میانِ خیر و شر نکند، چهارم اَهنکار یعني نسبت دهندهٔ چیزها بخود، و اهنکار صفتِ پرم آتما است بسببِ مایا، و مایا بزبانِ ایشان عشق است - و اهنکار نیز سه قسم است، ساتک و راجس و تامس - اهنکار ساتک یعني گیان سروپ که مرتبهٔ اعلی است آنست که پرم آتما بگوید که هرچه هست همه منم و این مرتبهٔ احاطهٔ کلّي است

(۱) در کتابخانهٔ بودلین (آکسفورد) کتابی است مسمّی به «رسالهٔ پاس انفاس» از مولّفات مولانا عبد الرحمن جامي، (برای تفصیل رجوع کنید بفهرست کتاب خانهٔ هذا، مرتّبه زخو و ایتهي صفحه ۷۵۸)*

همه اشیا را اَلَا اِنَّهُ بِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ مُّحِيطٌ (۱) یعني دانا و آگاه باش بدرستیکه اوست همه چیز را احاطه کننده - دیگر آنکه هُوَالْاَوَّلُ وَالْاٰخِرُ وَالظَّاهِرُ وَالْبَاطِنُ (۲) یعني اوست اوّل و اوست آخر و اوست ظاهر و اوست باطن - و اَهنکار راجس مَدّهم است که اوسط باشد و این آنست که نظر بر جیو آتمان داشته بگوید که ذات من از بدن و عناصر منزّه است و جسمانیت بمن نسبت ندارد، لَيْسَ كَمِثْلِهٖ شَيْءٌ (۳) یعني نیست مانند او چیزی فَاِنَّ اللّٰهَ غَنِيٌّ عَنِ الْعٰلَمِيْنَ - (۴) یعني خدای‌تعالی بی نیاز است از ظهورِ عالم - و اَهنکار تامس اَدّهم است که ادنی باشد و این اودیاست یعني مرتبهٔ عبودیتِ حضرتِ وجود - و ادنی بودن از جهتِ آنست که از نهایتِ تنزّل و تقیّد و تعیّن ناداني و جهل و غفلت را بخود نسبت میکند و نظر بر حیاتِ محسوسهٔ خود نموده میگوید که "من" و "تو" از مرتبهٔ یگانگي دور مي افتد: قُلْ اِنَّمَآ اَنَا بَشَرٌ مِّثْلُكُمْ (۵)- یعني بگو ای محمّد که جز این نیست که منم بشري مانند شما - چنانچه بششت میگوید که چون حضرتِ وجود خواست که متعیّن شود بمجرّدِ این اراده پرم آتما شد و چون این تقیّد زیاده شد اَهنکار بهم رسید و چون تقیّدِ دیگر بر آن افزود مهاتت که عقل‌کُل باشد نام یافت، و از سنکلپ و مهاتت من یعني قلب پیدا شد که آن را پرکرت نیز گویند و از سنکلپ من پنج گیان اندری که شامّه و لامسه و باصره و سامعه و ذایقه باشند بظهور آمد و از سنکلپ و این پنج گیان اندری اعضاء و اجسام بهم رسید و این مجموعه را بدن گویند - پس پرم آتما که ابو الارواح باشد (که

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(۱) قرآن مجید، ۴۱: ۵۴ * (۲) قرآن مجید، ۵۷ : ۳ *

(۳) ،، ۴۲: ۱۱ * (۴) ،، ۳ : ۹۶ * (۵) قرآن مجید، ۱۸ : ۱۱۰ *

ظهور اوّلِ او حقیقتِ محمّدي و ثاني آو روح‌القدس که جبرئیل امین باشد است) این همه تقیّدات را از خود پیدا کرده و خود را بآن بسته گردانیده (۱)- چنانکه کِرمِ‌پیله تارهاي ابریشم از لعابِ خود بر آورده خود را در آن بسته است همچنان حضرتِ واجب‌الوجود این همه قیودِ وهمي را از خود بر آورده و خود را درو در آورده است مثل تخمِ درخت که درخت را از خود بر آورده خود در درخت در مي آید و در بندِ شاخها و برگها و گُلها میشود - پس بدان و هوش دار که پیش از ظهور این عالم در ذات پنهان بود و الحال ذاتِ مقدّسِ او در عالم پنهان است *

۳ — بیان شغل

شغل نزد موحّدانِ هند اگرچه اقسام است امّا بهترینِ شغلها اَجْپا را میدانند و آن شغلیست که چه در خواب و چه در بیداري بی قصد و بی اختیار از جمیع ذی نفوس همیشه و هر آن صادر میگردد - چنانچه در آیهٔ کریمه وَ اِنْ مِّنْ شَيْءٍ اِلَّا یُسَبِّحُ بِحَمْدِهٖ وَ لٰكِنْ لَّا تَفْقَهُوْنَ تَسْبِیْحَهُمْ - (۲) اشاره بهمین است - و آن درون رفتن و برون آمدنِ دم را بدو لفظ تعبیر کرده اند، نَفَسی که بالا میرود "اُو" میگویند و نَفَسی که درون مي آید "من" مي نامند یعني "اُو منم" و صوفیه مشغولی این دو لفظ را "هو الله" میدانند که در بالا رفتنِ نَفَس "هو" و در بیرون آمدن "الله" ظاهر میشود، و این دو لفظ از هر ذی حیات جاریست و آو بیخبر است *

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(۱) مولانا محمود شبستري در "گلشن راز" مي فرمایند:—

نه آخر واجب آمد جزوِ هستي که هستي کرد اورا زیر دستي

(۲) قران مجید، ۱۷ : ۴۴ *

۴ — بیان صفات الله تعالی

نزد صوفیه دو صفت است، جمال و جلال که جمیع آفرینش از تحت این دو صفت بیرون نیست - و نزد فقرای هند سه صفات اند که آن را ترگن میگویند، ست و رج و تم - ست یعني ایجاد، و رج یعني ابقا و تم یعني افنا - و صوفیه صفت ابقا را در ضمنِ صفتِ جمال دیده و اعتبار کرده اند - چون هریکی ازین سه صفت در یکدیگر مندرج اند فقرای هند این سه صفت را ترمورت نامند که برهما و بشن و مهیش باشند و بزبانِ صوفیه جبرئیل و میکائیل و اسرافیل گویند - برهما موکلِ ایجاد است که جبرئیل باشد و بشن موکلِ ابقا ست که میکائیل باشد و مهیش موکل افنا ست که اسرافیل باشد - و آب و باد و آتش نیز منسوب باین موکلانند، آب بجبرئیل و آتش بمیکائیل و باد باسرافیل و این سه چیز در جمیع جانداران نیز ظاهر است، برهما که آب باشد در زبان، مظهرِ کلامِ الٰهي گشت و نُطق ازین ظاهر شد، و بشن که آتش است در چشم، روشني و نور و بینائی ازو ظاهر شد و مهیش که باد است در بیني، دو نفخهٔ صور ازین ظاهر شد که و نَفَس باشد و چون آن منقطع گردد فاني شود *

ترگن سه صفتِ حق باشد که ایجاد و ابقا و افنا ست و مظهرِ این سه صفت هم برهما و بشن و مهیش اند که صفاتِ آنها در جمیع مخلوقات ظاهر شد، اوّل مخلوق پیدا میشود باز بقدر موعود میماند و باز فاني میشود، شکت که قدرتِ این سه صفت است آن را تردیوي گویند، و ازان ترمورت

که برهما و بشن و مهیش باشند و ازین تردیوي این سه چیز برآمد که آن را سرستي پاربتي و لچهمي میگویند، سرستي به رجوگن و برهما تعلق دارد، و پاربتي به تموگن و مهیش، و لچهمي به ست گن و بشن *

۵ — بیان روح

روح دو قسم است، یکی روح و دیگر ابوالارواح که بزبانِ فقرای هند این دو روح را آتما و پرم آتما گویند - (چون) ذاتِ بحت متعیّن و مقیّد گردد چه بلطافت و چه بکثافت بجهتِ مجرّد بودن در مرتبهٔ لطافت اورا روح و آتما گویند و در مرتبهٔ کثافت جسد و سریر گویند و ذاتي که متعیّن بازل گشت روح اعظم باشد که با ذاتِ مجمع‌الصّفات مرتبهٔ احدیّت دارد و ذاتي که جمیع ارواح در آن مندرج اند آن را پرم آتما و ابوالارواح گویند - مَثَلِ آب و موجِ آب بمنزلهٔ بدن و روح و سریر و آتما است، و مجموعهٔ امواج از روی کلیّت بابوالارواح و پرم آتما ماند و آب صرف بمنزلهٔ حضرتِ وجود و شُدّه و چِتَنْ است *

۶ — بیان بادها

بادی که در بدنِ انسان حرکت میکند چون در پنج موضع میباشد پنج نام دارد، پَران اَپان سَمان اُودان و وِیان - پران[1] حرکتِ آن از بینی است تا بانگشتِ پا، و دم زدن خاصیتِ این باد است - اپان[2]، حرکت این از نشستگاه است تا به عضو مخصوص و این باد گردِ ناف هم حلقه زده است

و باعثِ حیات همان است سمان[3] در سینه و ناف حرکت میکند - اودان[4]، حرکتِ این از حلق است تا اُم‌الدّماغ و ویان[5] که ظاهر و باطن ازین باد پر است ٭

۷ — بیان عوالم اربعه

عوالم که جمیع مخلوقات را ناچار گذر بر آنست بطورِ بعضی از صوفیه چهار اند، ناسُوت و مَلکوت و جَبَروت ولاهُوت و بعضی پنج میگویند و عالم مثال را داخل میکنند، و جمعی که عالمِ مثال را با عالمِ ملکوت یکی می انگارند چهار میگویند، و بقولِ فقرای هند اوستهات که عبارت ازین عوالم اربعه باشد چهار اند، جاگرت و سَپن و سَکهوپت و تُریا - جاگرت مناسب است بناسُوت که عالم ظاهر و عالمِ بیداري باشد، سپن موافق است بمَلَکُوت که عالمِ ارواح و عالمِ خواب باشد، سکهوپت موافق است بجبروت که در آن نقوشِ هر دو عالم و تمیز "من" و "تو" نباشد خواه چشم وا کرده بیني خواه پوشیده، و بسیاري از فقرای هر دو قوم برین عالم مطّلع نیستند، چنانچه سیّد الطایفه اُستاد ابوالقاسم جُنید بغدادي (۱) قُدّسَ اللهُ سرّهُ خبر داده که فرموده

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(۱) ابوالقاسم بن محمّد بن‌الجنید‌الخزّاز القواریری که از صوفیانِ بزرگِ بغداد بودند برادر زادهٔ سری‌السقطي و شاگردِ امام شافعي رح بودند، و در بغداد در سنه ۲۹۷ ھ (مطابق سنه ۹۱۰ع) فوت شدند، برای تفصیل رجوع کنید به نفحات الانس صفحه ۸۱ و تذکرة الاولیا (مرتبّه ڈاکٹر نکلسن) جلد دوم صفحه ۵ تا ۳۶ ٭

قول بالا که بنام حضرت جنید رح منقول است، بر صفحه ۸۲ نفحات الانس مع تشریح شیخ الاسلام موجود است و اغلب این که داراشکوه آن را از نفحات نقل نموده و معلوم

تصوّف آن بود که ساعتي بنشيني بی تيمار - (۱) شيخ الاسلام گفت که بی تيمار چه بود - فرمود که يافت بی جُستن و ديدار بی نگريستن، چه بينندهٔ در ديدار علّت است، پس ساعتي بی تيمار نشستن همين است که نقوشِ عالم ناسوت و ملکوت در آن ساعت بخاطر نگذرند - و نيز آنچه مولانای روم قَدَّسَ اللّٰهُ سِرَّهٗ فرمودهٔ اشارهٔ بهمين معنی است :—

خواهي که بيابي يک لحظه مجويش
خواهي که بداني يک لحظه مدانش
چون در نهانش جوئی دوري ز آشکارش
چون آشکار جوئی محجوبي از نهانش
چون ز آشکار و پنهان بيرون شوي ببرهان
پاها دراز ميکن خوش خُسپ در امانش

و ثريا موافق است بلاهوت که ذاتِ محض باشد و مُحيط و شامل و جامع و عين اين هر سه عالم - اگر سيرِ انسان از ناسُوت بمَلَكُوت و از مَلَكُوت بجَبَرُوت و از جَبَرُوت بلاهُوت باشد اين ترقّي ازوست و اگر حضرتِ حقيقت الحقايق که موحّدانِ هند آن را اَوَسَن گويند

ميشود که داراشکوهٔ اين قول حضرت جنيد را خيلی دوست ميداشت چه او در سه از تصنيفات خويش، يعني رسالهٔ حق نما (صفحه ۲۱ نسخه مطبوعه نولکشور) حسنات العارفين (ورق ۸ ب، نسخه قلمي موجودهٔ بوهار لائبريری) و سکينة الاوليا (صفحه ۴۶ ترجمه اردو، مطبوعه لاهور) درج نمودهٔ *

(۱) مراد از شيخ الاسلام، ابو اسمعيل عبد الله بن محمّد الانصاري الهروييست که بتاريخ ۲ شعبان سنه ۳۹۶ ه (مطابق سنه ۱۰۰۶ ع) پيدا شدند، ايشان مولّفِ چند رسايل اند، لاکن شهرت ايشان مبني بر مناجات است که خيلی مقبول است - و ايشان در مجامع تذکير و موعظت بر طريقت و علم و حال و سيرتِ صوفيای کرام املا مي فرمودند

از مرتبهٔ لاهوت نزول فرماید و از جَبَرُوت و مَلَکُوت بگذرد سیرِ اُو منتهی بعالمِ ناسُوت میشود، و اینکه صوفیه مراتبِ نزول را بعضی چهار بعضی پنج قرار داده اند اشاره باین معنی است *

۸ — بیان آواز

آواز از همان نفس الرحمٰن است که بوقتِ ایجاد بلفظِ "کُن" ظاهر شد، (۱) آن آواز را فقرای هند سرِستي گویند، و جمیع آوازها و صَوتها و صداها ازان آواز پیدا گشته، * بیت *

هر کجا بشنوی چو نغمهٔ اُوست
که شنید این چنین صدای دراز

و این آواز که ناد باشد نزد موحّدان هند بر سه قسم است، اوّل اَناهت یعني آوازیکه همیشه بود وهست و خواهد بود و صوفیه این آواز را آوازِ مُطلق و سلطان الاذکار گویند که قدیم است و احساس مَها اکاس ازین است، و این آواز را در نیابند مگر اکابرِ آگاهِ هر دو قوم - دویم آهت یعني آوازیکه از زدنِ

که آن را در قیدکتابت آورده "طبقات عبد الله انصاري" نامیدند، و نسخهٔ خطّیِ آن که از بس نادرالوجود است در کتاب خانهٔ ایشیاٹک سوسائٹي بنگاله موجود است (رجوع کنید به فهرست مخطوطات فارسی کتب خانهٔ ایشیاٹک سوسائٹي، صفحه ۷۸ تا صفحه ۸۳) - و مولانا جامي کتاب نفحات الانس را (چنانکه خود در دیباچه مي نگارد) بیشتر از طبقات شیخ الاسلام اخذ کرده - وفات شیخ الاسلام در سنه ۴۸۱ ھ (مطابق سنه ۱۰۸۸ ع) واقع شده *

(۱) این عالم بمحض ارادهٔ حق تعالیٰ که بلفظ "کُن" ظاهر شد بوجود آمد، چنانکه حق تعالیٰ میگوید: بَدِيعُ السَّمٰوٰتِ وَ الْاَرْضِ وَ اِذَا قَضٰى اَمْرًا فَاِنَّمَا يَقُوْلُ لَهٗ كُنْ فَيَكُوْنُ (قرآن مجید، ۲ : ۱۱۷) *

چیزی بچیزی بی‌ترکیب الفاظ پیدا شود، سیوم سَبد که بترکیبِ الفاظ پیدا شود و آواز سَبد را بسرستی مناسبت است، و از همین آواز اسم اعظم که میانِ اهل اسلام است و کلمهٔ که فقرای هند آن را بید مُکهه گویند (۱) ا - و - م ظاهر شد، و معنیِ این (۲) اسم اعظم آنست که اوست صاحبِ سه صفت که ایجاد و ابقا وافناست، وفتحه و ضمّه و کسرهٔ که آن را اکار، اُوکار و مَکار گویند از همین ظاهر شده، و مر این اسم را صورتی خاص است نزدِ موحّدانِ هند که باسمِ اعظم ما مشابهتِ تمام دارد و نشانِ عنصرِ آب و آتش و خاک و باد و ذاتِ بحت نیز درین ظاهر است *

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(۱) اوم - لفظیست بغایت متبرّک درمیانِ هنود، که قبل از خواندنِ کتب مذهبی این لفظ را بر زبان می آورند، و از غایتِ متبرّک بودنِ آن دست بر دهن گذاشته در بر آوردن این لفظ اشتغال می ورزند، و هنوز متحقّق نشده که " اوم " چه معنیِ مخصوصی دارد - بعضی گویند که این حرفِ اوّلِ ادیتی و ورما و مترا باشد که مجموع آنها " اوم " شده، یعنی او خداوندیست، پیدا کننده، و دارنده و فنا کننده، و داراشکوه در دیباچهٔ ترجمهٔ اپنکهت قرآن مجید را " اوم الکتاب " میگوید *

(۲) چنانکه در باب " اوم " محقّق نشده که چه معنیِ مخصوصی دارد در بارهٔ " اسم اعظم " هم متعیّن نگشته که اطلاق خصوصیِ آن بر کدام اسم از اسمای خدا باشد بعضی گویند که مراد از " اسم اعظم " " الحی " باشد و بعضی " القیّوم " و " الرحمٰن " و " الرحیم " گویند *

در آصف‌اللغات مؤلّفه شمس‌العلما احمد عبدالعزیز نایطی نواب عزیز یار جنگ بهادر صفحه ۲۶۸۴ نوشته، اسم اعظم (اصطلاح) بقول صاحب بحر و غیاث اسم بزرگ است از جمیع اسمای حق تعالی و در تعیّن آن اختلاف، نزد بعضی الله و نزد بعضی صمد و نزد بعضی الحی‌القیوم و نزد بعض الرحمٰن‌الرحیم و نزد بعضی مهیمن - صاحب آنند بحوالهٔ کشف گوید که نزد قاضی حمیدالدین ناگوری اسم اعظم « هو » باشد که او اوّل از

۹ ــــ بیان نور

نور سه قسم است - اگر بصفتِ جلال ظاهر شود یا برنگِ آفتاب است یا برنگِ یاقوت یا برنگِ آتش - و اگر بصفتِ جمال ظاهر شود یا برنگِ ماه است یا برنگِ نُقره یا برنگِ مروارید یا برنگِ آب، و نورِ ذات که منزّه است از صفات آن را جز اولیای خدا که حق سُبْحَانَهُ تَعَالی در حقِّ ایشان فرموده يَهْدِي اللهُ لِنُوْرِهِ مَنْ يَشَاءُ (۱)، دیگری در نمي یابد، یعني هدایت میکند الله تعالی هرکرا میخواهد بنورِ خود، و آن نوریست که چون شخص در خواب شود یا چشم پوشیده بنشیند، نه بچشم بیند و نه بگوش شنود و نه بزبان گوید و نه به بیني بوید و نه بلامسه احساس کند، و حال آنکه در خواب همیشه این همه کارها بیک چیز کند و محتاج اعضاء و حواسِ ظاهري و روشنائی چراغ نباشد و باصره و سامعه و ذایقه و شامّه و لامسه عین یکدیگر شوند و یکذات گردند، آن را نور ذات گویند، و آن نورِ خدا ست جَلَّ شَأْنُهُ -

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سرادقاتِ عزّت در عالمِ ظهور آمده و هویک حرف است و حرف واو از اشباع ضمّه متولد شده و او اسم ذات مطلق باشد نه معلول و مشتق ... و باتفاق جمله عشّاق ' هو ' مشتق واو منتهای اسم الله است و هرچه از راه عبادت در سائر اسماست آن را اشارتي و در دائرۀ هو است - آورده اند که اسم هو اصل و اُمّ جمله اسماست چنانکه سورۀ فاتحه اصل و اُمّ تمام قرآن ... عبد الرزاق کاشي در معنيِ اسم اعظم این دو بیت فرموده *

اسم اعظم جامع اسما بُوَد   صورتِ او معنيِ اشیا بُوَد
اسم دریا و تعیّن موجِ او   این کسي داند که او از مَا بود

* ظهوري *

نیارد زدن تا دم از عشق هرکس   طلسمی بر این اسم اعظم نه بندم

(۱) قران مجید، ۲۴، : ۳۵

ایدوست فکر کن که چه گفتم که جای فراست و فکراست و رسولِ خدا صَلَّی اللهُ عَلَیْهِ وَسَلَّمْ در تعریفِ این فکر فرموده تَفَکُّرُ سَاعَةٍ خَیْرٌ مِنْ عِبَادَةِ سَنَةٍ، یعني این فکریست که ساعتي درین فکر بودن بهتر از عملِ آدمي و پریست - و نوریکه از آیهٔ کریمه اَللهُ نُوْرُالسَّمٰوٰتِ وَالْاَرْضِ، یعنی الله تعالیٰ نور آسمانها و زمینها است مفهوم میگردد آن را فقرای هند جون سروپ و سوا پرکاس و سپن پرکاس گویند، یعني این نور همیشه خود بخود روشن است خواه در عالم نماید خواه ننماید - چنانچه صوفیه نور را بمنوّر تفسیر میکنند و ایشان (اهل هند) نیز بمنوّر تعبیر کرده اند - و ترجمهٔ این آیهٔ کریمه که اَللهُ نُوْرُ السَّمٰوٰتِ وَالْاَرْضِ چنین است که الله تعالیٰ نور آسمانها و زمینها ست، (مَثَلُ نُوْرِهٖ کَمِشْکوٰةٍ فِیْهَا مِصْبَاحٌ) و مَثَلِ نورِ اُو مانند طاقچه است که دران مصباح باشد، (اَلْمِصْبَاحُ فِيْ زُجَاجَةٍ) و آن چراغ در شیشه بُود، (اَلزُّجَاجَةُ کَاَنَّهَا کَوْکَبٌ دُرِّیٌّ) و شیشه گویا که ستارهٔ درخشنده است که، (یُوْقَدُ مِنْ شَجَرَةٍ مُّبٰرَکَةٍ زَیْتُوْنَةٍ لَّاشَرْقِیَّةٍ وَّلَا غَرْبِیَّةٍ) افروخته شده است از درختِ مبارکِ زیتون که نه شرقي است و نه غربي، و (یَکَادُ زَیْتُهَا یُضِيْٓءُ وَلَوْلَمْ تَمْسَسْهُ نَارٌ) نزدیک است که روغنِ آن زیتونِ مبارک روشني بخشد با آنکه آتش باو نرسیده باشد و (نُوْرٌ عَلٰی نُوْرٍ) نوریست بر نور، (یَهْدِی اللهُ لِنُوْرِهٖ مَنْ یَّشَآءُ [۱]) و راه مینماید الله تعالیٰ بنورِ خود هرکرا که میخواهد - امّا آنچه که فقیر فهمیده این باشد که مراد از مشکوٰة که طاق باشد عالم اجسام است و مراد از مصباح که چراغ باشد نورِ ذات است و مراد

(۱) قرآن مجید، ۲۴ : ۳۵ *

از شیشه روح است که مانند ستارهٔ درخشنده است که از روشنی آن چراغ این شیشه هم مانندِ چراغ مي نماید، و "افروخته شده است آن چراغ" عبارت از نورِ وجود است و از "شجرهٔ مبارک" ذاتِ حق سُبْحَانَهُ تَعَالىٰ مراد است که منزّه است از جهاتِ شرقي و غربي - و مراد از "زیت" روحِ اعظم است که نه ازلی و نه ابدی است، یعني آن زیت از غایتِ لطافت و صفا خودبخود روشن و تابان است و محتاج بافروختن نیست، چنانچه استاد ابوبکر واسطی (۱) عَلَیْهِ الرَّحْمَه در تعریفِ روح میفرماید که زجاجهٔ روح بمرتبهٔ روشن است که محتاجِ لمسِ نارِ ناسوت و شعاع نیست و از غایتِ استعدادِ ذاتي نزدیک است که خود بخود روشن شود - و این نورِ زیت "نورٌ علیٰ نور" است یعني از نهایتِ صفا و روشني نوریست پر نور، و باین روشنائی نمي بیند کسی اُو را تا اُو خود هدایت نکند بنورِ وحدتِ خود - پس مراد از مجموعهٔ این آیهٔ کریمه آنست که حق سُبْحَانَهُ تَعَالىٰ بنورِ ذاتِ خود در پرده های لطیف و نوراني ظاهر است و هیچ ظلمتي و حجابي درمیان نیست و نورِ ذات در پردهٔ روح‌الارواح ظاهر است و روح الارواح در پردهٔ ارواح و ارواح در پردهٔ اجسام - همچنین "چراغ" بآن نورِ زیت در پردهٔ شیشه تابان و ظاهر است و "شیشه" در پردهٔ طاقچه - و اینها اکتسابِ نور از نورِ ذات میکنند لهذا روشنی بر روشنی افزوده *

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(۱) محمّد بن موسیٰ المعروف به ابوبکر الواسطی از اصحابِ حضرت جنید و حضرت ابوالحسن نوري بودند، ولادتشان قبل از عشرین و ثلثمایة در شهر مرو بوقوع آمد - شیخ الاسلام مي فرماید که ایشان امام توحید بودند - برای تفصیل رجوع کنید به نفحات الانس صفحه ۱۷۱ و تذکرة الاولیا (مرتّبه ڈاکٹر نکلسن) صفحه ۲۶۵ تا صفحه ۲۸۱ *

۱۰ — بیان رویت

رویتِ خدای تعالی را موحّدانِ هند ساچهات کار گویند یعني دیدنِ خدا بچشم سر - بدانکه در دیدنِ خدای تعالی در دنیا و آخرت بچشم ظاهر و باطنِ هیچ یکی از انبیاء علیه السلام و اولیای کامل قُدِّسَ اللهُ سِرَّهُ شکّی و شبهي نیست و جمیع اهل کتاب و کاملان و بینایانِ هر ملّت باین معني ایمان دارند، چه اهل قرآن و چه اهل بید و چه اهل توریت و انجیل و زبور - و از نافهمیدگان و نا بینایانِ ملّتِ خود بود هر که انکارِ رویت نماید، چه ذاتِ مقدّسي که بر همه چیز قادر باشد بر نمودنِ خود هم چرا قدرت نداشته باشد و این مسئله را علمای سنّت و الجماعت خوب بی پرده گفته اند - امّا اگر ذاتِ بحت را گفته اند که توان دید این محال است چه ذاتِ بحت لطیف و بی تعیّن است و متعیّن نگردد و در پردهٔ لطافت جلوه‌گر بشود پس نتوان دید و چنین رویت محال باشد - و آنچه گفته اند که در آخرت توان دید و در دنیا نتوان دید اصلي ندارد زیرا که هرگاه کمالِ قدرت درو هست هر طور و هرجا و هرگاه که خواهد قادر بر نمودنِ خود است و هرکه اینجا ندید مشکل است که تواند در آنجا دید، چنانچه خود در آیهٔ کریمه فرموده وَمَنْ كَانَ فِيْ هٰذِهٖٓ اَعْمٰى فَهُوَ فِى الْاٰخِرَةِ اَعْمٰى (۱)، یعني هرکه درین دنیا از دولتِ دیدارِ من محروم است در آخرت نیز محروم خواهد ماند از نعمتِ جمالِ من - و منکرانِ رویت که حکمای معتزله و شیعه باشند درین مسئله خطای عظیم کرده اند، چرا که اگر میگفتند که دیدنِ ذاتِ بحت ممکن نیست بهرحال صورتی داشت و چون

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(۱) قرآن مجید، ۱۷ : ۷۲

ایشان جمیع اقسام رویت را منکر شده اند این نهایتِ خطاست زیرا که اکثری از انبیای مرسل و اولیای اکمل خدا را بچشم ظاهر دیده و کلامِ با احترامِ او را بیواسطه شنیده اند و هرگاه که ایشان شنیدنِ کلامِ حق را از همه جهت قابل اند چرا دیدن را هم از همه جهت قابل نباشند - البتّه باشند - و چنانکه ایمان بخدا و ملائکه و کتابها و انبیاء و قیامت و قضا و قدر و خیر و شر و خانهای متبرّک وغیرہ فرض است ایمان برویت هم فرض و لازم است - و اختلافی که از نارسیدگانِ علمای سنّت والجماعت کرده اند در معني و لفظ این حدیث که عائشه صدّیقه پرسید از حضرتِ رسول صلعم که هل رائت ربک یعني ایا دیدی تو پروردگارِ خود را - فرمود نُوْرٌ اِنّيْ اَرَاهُ یعني نوریست که مي بینم اورا - آنها این حدیث را نُوْرٌ اِنّيْ رَاهُ خوانده اند، یعني نوریست چگونه بینم اورا - لاکن این دلیلِ نا دیدنِ پیغمبر صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَ سَلَّمَ نمیشود، اگر معنیِ اول گیریم اشاره برویتِ تامِ اوست در پردهٔ نور، و اگر چنین خوانده شود که نوریست چگونه بینم اورا اشاره بذاتِ بحت و بیرنگ است - این اختلاف عبارتي نیست بلکه اعجازِ نبویست که در یک حدیث دو مسئله بیان توان کرد - و آیهٔ کریمه وُجُوهٌ يَوْمَئِذٍ نَّاضِرَةٌ اِلىٰ رَبِّهَا نَاظِرَةٌ (۱) یعني دران روزیکه روها تر و تازه خواهند بود و بینندہ بسوی پروردگارِ خود بُرهاني ظاهر است بر رویتِ پروردگار جَلَّ شَانُهُ - و آیهٔ کریمه لَا تُدْرِكُهُ الْاَبْصَارُ وَ هُوَ يُدْرِكُ الْاَبْصَارَ وَ هُوَ اللَّطِيْفُ الْخَبِيْرُ (۲) اشاره به بیرنگیست یعني نمي بینند بصرها در مرتبهٔ اطلاق و بیرنگي و اُو همه را مي بیند و اُو در نهایتِ لطافت و بیرنگیست، و درین آیهٔ کریمه اسم "هو" که واقع شده اشاره به نادیدنِ ذات

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(۱) قرآن مجید، ۷۵ : ۲۲، (۲) قرآن مجید، ٦ : ۱۰۴

بحت است - دیدنِ خدای تعالیٰ پنج قسم است - قسم اوّل، در خواب بچشم دل، دوم دیدن در بیداری بچشم سر، سیوم، درمیانِ بیداری و خواب که آن بیخودیٔ خاص است، چهارم در یک تعیّنِ خاص پنجم دیدنِ یک ذاتِ واحد است در کثراتِ تعیّناتِ عوالمِ ظاهر و باطن، و این چنین دید حضرتِ رسول صلّعم در وقتیکه خود نبود درمیان و رائی و مرئی یکی بود، و خواب و بیداری و بیخودیٔ آ و یکی می نمود و چشم ظاهر و باطنِ آ و یکی شده بود، مرتبۀ کمال رویت اینست و این را دنیا و آخرت درکار نیست و همه جا و همه وقت میسّر است (۱) *

۱۱ — بیان اسمای الله تعالیٰ

بدانکه اسمای الله تعالیٰ بی نهایت است و از حدِّ حصر بیرون - ذاتِ مطلق و بحت و صرف و غیب الغیب و حضرتِ واجب الوجود را بزبانِ

(۱) داراشکوه در سکینة الاولیا (از صفحه ۶۰ تا صفحه ۶۶) مسئله رویت را بالتفصیل در بحث آورده، و اسناد بسیاری باثباتِ ادعای خودش درج کرده که نقل همۀ آنها باعثِ تطویل شود، پس برهمین اختصار اکتفا نموده شد-

یکی از اصحابِ کبار بمن گفته که روزی حضرت میان جیو را پرسیدم که در نهایهٔ جزری، مذکور است روزی ابن شقیق به ابا ذر غفّاری گفت که اگر رسول الله را دیدمی ازو پرسیدمی که خدا را دیدی یا نه، ابا ذر غفّاری گفت که من از آنحضرت صلّعم پرسیدم گفت نُورٌ اَنّٰی اَرَاهُ یعني او نوریست هیچگونه ممکن نیست که او را بینم، پوشیده نماند که در عبارتِ بالا تجنیس خطّی واقع شده یعني "نُوْرَانِیٌّ اَرَاهُ" یعني نوریست که می بینم او را-

حضرت میان جیو بداراشکوه فرمود که اگر معنيِ اوّل گیریم اشاره بوجود صرفِ ذاتِ حق باشد و چنین رویت برای انبیا هم محال باشد، لاکن اگر معنيِ دوم را اختیار کنیم مراد این باشد که رویت او در وقت تنزّل بپردۀ نقاب، و لباس پوشي ممکن است

فقرای هند اسن و تِرگن و نِرنکار و نِرنجن و سَت و چِت گویند - اگر علم را باو نسبت دهند که اهلِ اسلام اورا علیم میگویند فقرای هند آن را چِتن نامند و اسم الحق را اننت گویند، قادر را سمرتهه، و سمیع را سروتا و بصیر را درشتا خوانند، و اگر کلام را بآن ذاتِ مطلق نسبت دهند وکتا نامند و الله را اوم و هو را سَهٌ و فرشته را بزبانِ ایشان دیوتا گویند، و مظهرِ اتم را اوتار نامند، و اوتار آن باشد که قدرتِ الٰهي آنچه درو ظاهر شود و از وجودِ او بنظر آید در هیچ یکی از افرادِ نوع او در آن وقت ظاهر نشود، و وحي را که بر پیغمبر نازل شود اکاس باني نامند و اکاس باني بجهتِ آن گویند که پیغمبر صَلَّی اللهُ عَلَیْهِ وَ سَلَّمْ فرموده که صعب ترینِ اوقات برمن وقتِ وحي است که میشنوم وحي را مانند آوازِ جرس یا مانندِ آوازِ زنبور، و چون این آواز از اکاس ظاهر میشود اکاس باني میگویند - و کتبِ آسماني را بید گویند، و خوبانِ جنّیان را که پري باشند انچهرا گویند و بدانِ آنها را که دیو و شیاطین اند راچهس گویند و آدمي را مَنُکهه، ولي را رِکهي و نبي را مها سُده نامند *

۱۲ — بیان نبوّت و ولایت

انبیا بر سه قسم اند، یکی آنکه خدا را دیده باشند بچشم، خواه بچشمِ ظاهر خواه بچشمِ باطن - دیگر آنکه آوازِ خدا شنیده باشند خواه آوازِ صرف،

و شاهزاده موصوف خیالاتِ خودش را در بابِ مسئلهٔ رویت بوضاحت تمام درین رباعي بیان نموده (سکینة الاولیا صفحه ۶۱) *

آنانکه خدا در آن زمان مي بینند * اوّل تو بدان درین جهان مي بینند
دیدارِ خدا درین و آن یکسانست * هر لحظه بظاهر و نهان مي بینند

خواه آواز مرکّب از حروفِ کلمه - دیگر آنکه فرشته را دیده باشند یا آوازِ فرشته را شنیده باشند - و نبوّت و ولایت برسه قسم است، یکی نبوّت و ولایتِ تنزیهي، دوم نبوّت و ولایتِ تشبیهی، سیوم نبوّت و ولایتِ جامع التشبیه والتنزیهه - اوّل نبوّت تنزیهي، چون نبوّتِ حضرت نوح علیه السلام که خدا را بتنزیه دید و دعوت کرد و اُمّت بجهتِ تنزیه ایمان نیاورد مگر قلیلی و همه در بحرِ فنا غرق شدند چون زاهدانِ زمانِ ما که بتنزیهِ خدا مریدانرا خوانند و هیچکس ازان مریدان عارف نشود و از قولِ آنها نفعي نبرد و در راهِ سلوک و طریقت فنا و هلاک گردد و بخدا نرسد -

دوم نبوّت تشبیهي چون نبوّت موسیٰ است علیه السلام که خود خدا را در آتشِ درخت دید و از ابر سخنِ حق شنید و اکثرِ اُمّت از تقلیدِ موسیٰ در تشبّه افتاده گوساله‌پرست شدند و عصیان ورزیدند و امروز بعضی از مقلّدانِ زمانِ ما آنانکه محض تقلیدِ کاملان پیشه کرده اند و برین زندگاني کنند از تنزیه دور افتاده در تشبّه فرو رفتند و بدیدنِ صورتهای خوب و مرغوب در لهو و لعب گرفتار اند و پیرویِ ایشان نشاید - * نظم *

هر صورتِ دلکش که ترا روی نمود
خواهد فلک از چشم تواش زود ربود
رَو دل بکسي ده که در اطوارِ وجود
بود است و همیشه با تو خواهد بود

سیوم نبوّت جامع التنزیه و التشبیه، یعني جمع کنندهٔ تنزیه و تشبیه و آن نبوّتِ محمدّیست صَلَّی اللّٰهُ عَلَیْهِ وَ سَلَّمَ که مطلق و مقیّد رنگ و بیرنگ و نزدیگ و دور را یکجا کرده، و اشاره باین مرتبه است درین آیهٔ کریمه

که لَیْسَ کَمِثْلِهِ شَيْءٌ وَ هُوَ السَّمِیْعُ الْبَصِیْرُ (۱) یعني نیست مثل اُو چیزی و این اشارهٔ بمرتبهٔ تنزیه است و شنوائی و بینائی اشاره به تشبیه بُوَد - و این مرتبه بلند ترین و اعلیٰ ترین مرتبهٔ جامعیّت و خاتمت است که مخصوص بذاتِ آنسرور صلعم است، پس رسولِ ما همه عالم را از شرق تا غرب فرو گرفته - و نبوّت تنزیهي محروم است از نبوّت تشبیهي و نبوّت تشبیهي عاریست از نبوّت تنزیهي، و نبوّتِ جامع شاملِ تنزیهه و تشبیه است چون هُوَ الْاَوَّلُ وَالْاٰخِرُ وَالظَّاهِرُ وَالْبَاطِنُ (۲) - همچنین ولایت مخصوص است بکاملانِ این اُمّت که حق‌تعالیٰ در وصفِ ایشان فرموده کُنْتُمْ خَیْرَ اُمَّةٍ اُخْرِجَتْ لِلنَّاسِ (۳) یعني بهترین اُمّتیان ایشانند که جمع کنندهٔ تشبیه و تنزیه اند - چنانچه در زمانِ پیغمبرِ ما صَلَّی اللهُ عَلَیْهِ وَ سَلَّمَ از اولیا (۴) ابوبکر و عمر و عثمان و علي و حسن و حسین و ستّهٔ باقیه و عشرهٔ مبشّره و اکابر مهاجر و انصار و اهل صوفیه بودند و از آنجمله در تابعین چون اُویس قرني وغیره - و در زمانِ دیگر چون ذوالنون مصری و فُضیل عیاض و معروف کرخي و ابراهیم ادهم و بِشرِ حافي و سری السّقطی و بایزید بسطامي و استاد ابوالقاسم جنیدی و سهل بن عبد الله التستري و ابو سعید خرّاز و رویم و ابو الحسین النّوري و ابراهیم خواص، و ابوبکر شبلی و ابوبکر واسطی و امثالِ ایشان - و در زمانِ دیگر چون ابو سعید ابوالخیر و شیخ الاسلام خواجه عبدالله انصاری و شیخ احمد جام و محمد معشوق طوسی و احمد غزالی و ابوالقاسم گُرگاني - و در زمانِ دیگر

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(۱) قرآن مجید، ۴۲ : ۱۱ (۲) قرآن مجید، ۵۷ : ۳ *

(۳) قرآن مجید، ۳ : ۱۰۹ *

(۴) برای ترجمهٔ احوال این اولیای کامل رجوع کنید به ترجمهٔ انگلیسی *

چون پیرِ من شیخ محی الدین عبدالقادر جیلانی و ابو مدین المغربی و شیخ محی الدین ابن العربی و شیخ نجم الدین کبری و شیخ فرید الدین عطار و مولانا جلال الدین رومی - و در زمانِ دیگر چون خواجه معین الدین چشتی و خواجه بهاء الدین نقشبند و خواجه احرار و مولانا عبد الرحمن جامی - و در زمانِ دیگر چون شیخِ من جنید ثانی شاه میر و آستادِ من میان باری و مرشدِ من ملّا شاه و شاه محمد دلربا و شیخ طیّب سرهندی و باوا لال بیراگی *

۱۳ — بیان برهماند

مراد از برهماند "کُل" و تقیّدِ ظهورِ حضرتِ وجود است بصورتِ کُرّهٔ مدوّر و چون اورا بهیچ طرف میل و تعلق نیست و نسبت او با همه برابر ست و همه پیدایش و نمایش درمیانِ این ست لهذا موحّدانِ هند این را برهماند گویند *

۱۴ — بیان جهات

موحّدانِ اسلام هریک از مشرق و مغرب و شمال و جنوب و فوق و تحت را جهتی اعتبار نموده شش جهت گفته اند و موحّدانِ هند جهات را ده میگویند یعنی مابین مشرق و مغرب و شمال و جنوب را نیز جهتی اعتبار نموده دِه دِشا می نامند *

۱۵ — بیان آسمانها

آسمانها که آن را لگن میگویند بطورِ اهلِ هند هشت است، هفت ازان مقرِ هفت کواکبِ سیّاره است که زحل و مشتری و مریخ و شمس و زهره و عطارد

و قمر باشند و بزبانِ اهل هند این هفت ستاره را هفت نچهتر یعني سنیچر و برسپت و منگل و سورج و سکر و بده و چندرا ماس میگویند - و آسماني که جمیع ثوابت در آن اند آن را هشتم میدانند و همین آسمان را حکما فلکِ هشتم و فلکِ ثوابت میگویند که بزبانِ اهل شرع کُرسي است وَسِعَ كُرْسِيُّهُ السَّمٰوٰتِ وَالْاَرْضَ (۱) یعني آسمانها و زمینها در کُرسي میگنجند و نهم که آن را مها اکاس میگویند داخلِ آسمانها نکرده اند جهت آنکه آن محیطِ همه است و کُرسی و آسمانها و زمینها را احاطه کرده است *

۱۶ — بیانِ زمین

زمین نزدِ اهل هند هفت طبقه است که آن را سپت تال میگویند و هر طبقه این یک نام دارد، اتل بتل سوتل تلاتل مهاتل رساتل و پاتال - بطورِ اهل اسلام نیز زمین هفت است بموجبِ آیهٔ کریمه اَللّٰهُ الَّذِيْ خَلَقَ سَبْعَ سَمٰوٰتٍ وَّ مِنَ الْاَرْضِ مِثْلَهُنَّ (۲) یعني الله تعالیٰ آن خدائیست که خلق گردانید هفت آسمانها را و از زمین هم مانند آن آسمانها *

۱۷ — بیانِ قسمتِ زمین

رُبع مسکون را حُکما بهفت طبقه قسمت کرده اند و هفت اقلیم میگویند و اهل هند آن را سپت دیپ مي نامند و این هفت طبقهٔ زمین را بر روی زمین هم مثلِ پوست پیاز نمیدانند بلکه بمراتب مثلِ پایه هاى نردبان تصوّر میکنند - و هفت کوه را که اهل هند آنها را سپت کلاچل گویند بر گردِ هر

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(۱) قرآن مجید، ۲ : ۲۵۵ * (۲) قرآن مجید، ۶۵ : ۱۲ *

زمیني کُوهي را محیط میدانند و نام کوه ها اینست، اوّل سُمیرو دوم سمویت سیوم همکوت چهارم همون پنجم مکده ششم پارجاتر هفتم کیلاس - چنانچه در آیهٔ کریمه وَالْجِبَالَ اَوْتَادًا (۱) واقع است یعني (گردانیدیم) کوهها را میخهای زمین - و بر گِرد هریکی از آن هفت کوه هفت دریا اند که محیطِ هر کوه اند و آن را سپت سمندر میگویند و نامهای این هفت دریا این اند اوّل لون سمندر یعني دریای شور، دوم اَنچه رس سمندر یعني دریای آب نیشکر، سیوم سرا سمندر یعني دریای شراب، چهارم گِهرت سمندر یعني دریای روغن زرد، پنجم دَدَه سمندر یعني دریای جغرات، ششم کهیر سمندر یعني دریای شیر، هفتم سواد جل یعني دریای آب زلال - و بودنِ دریا بعدد هفت ازین آیه معلوم میشود وَلَوْ اَنَّ مَا فِي الْاَرْضِ مِنْ شَجَرَةٍ اَقْلَامٌ وَّالْبَحْرُ يَمُدُّهٗ مِنْۢ بَعْدِهٖ سَبْعَةُ اَبْحُرٍ مَّا نَفِدَتْ كَلِمٰتُ اللّٰهِ (۲) یعني بدرستیکه از درختان که بر زمین اند قلمها شود و آن هفت دریاها سیاهي شوند تمام نمیشود کلماتِ خدا یعني مقدّراتِ خدا و در هر زمیني و کوهي و دریای اقسام مخلوقات هستند - و زمین و کوه و دریا که فوقِ همه زمینها و کوهها و دریاها است بطورِ محققانِ هند آن‌را سرگ خوانند که بهشت و جنّت باشد - و زمین و دریا که تحتِ همه زمینها و کوهها و دریاها ست آن‌را نرک گویند که عبارت از دوزخ است و جهنّم - و تحقیقِ موحّدانِ هند است که بهشت و دوزخ از همین عالم که آن را برهماند گویند خارج نیست، و این هفت آسمان را که مَقرِّ این هفت ستاره اند میگویند که بر گِردِ بهشت میگردند نه بر بالای بهشت - و سقفِ بهشت را من اکاس میدانند که عرش باشد و زمینِ بهشت را کُرسي *

(۱) قرآن مجید ۷۸ : ۷ * (۲) قرآن مجید، ۳۱ : ۲۷ *

۱۸ — بیان عالم برزخ

پیغمبر صَلَّی اللّٰهُ عَلَیْهِ وَسَلَّمْ فرموده مَنْ مَاتَ فَقَدْ قَامَ قِیَامَتُهُ یعنی شخصیکه مُرد پس تحقیق که قایم شد قیامتِ او - و بعد از موت آنما که رُوح باشد از بدنِ عنصري مفارقت نموده بی‌تخلّل زمان ببدنِ مُکتسب که آن را سوچهم سریر گویند در مي آید و آن بدنِ لطیف است که از عمل صورت گرفته باشد - عملِ نیک را صورتِ نیک و عملِ بد را صورتِ بد - و بعد از سوال و جواب بی درنگ و بی توقّف اهل بهشت را به بهشت و اهل دوزخ را بدوزخ میبرند، موافق این آیهٔ کریمه فَاَمَّا الَّذِیْنَ شَقُوْا فَفِی النَّارِ لَهُمْ فِیْهَا زَفِیْرٌ وَّشَهِیْقٌ خٰلِدِیْنَ فِیْهَا مَا دَامَتِ السَّمٰوٰتُ وَ الْاَرْضُ اِلَّا مَا شَآءَ رَبُّكَ اِنَّ رَبَّكَ فَعَّالٌ لِّمَا یُرِیْدُ وَ اَمَّا الَّذِیْنَ سُعِدُوْا فَفِی الْجَنَّةِ خٰلِدِیْنَ فِیْهَا مَا دَامَتِ السَّمٰوٰتُ وَالْاَرْضُ اِلَّا مَا شَآءَ رَبُّكَ عَطَآءً غَیْرَ مَجْذُوْذٍ (۱) یعني آنانکه بد بخت شده اند در آتش اند مر ایشان را در آتش فریاد و ناله و زاريِ جاودان باشد در آن آتش تا هنگامیکه آسمانها و زمینها ست مگر آنچه خواهد پروردگارِ تو - بدرستیکه پروردگارِ تو کننده است هر چیزی را که خواهد و آنانکه نیک بخت در بهشت اند همیشه تا هنگامیکه باشند آسمانها و زمینها مگر تا وقتیکه خواهد پروردگارِ تو که آنها را از آنجا بر آرد و بخششِ او بی نهایت است - بر آوردن از دوزخ آن باشد که پیش از برطرف شدنِ آسمانها و زمینها اگر خواهد از دوزخ بر آورده به بهشت بَرَد و ابن مسعود (۲) رَضِیَ اللّٰهُ عَنْهُ در تفسیر این آیه فرموده که لَاَتِیَنَّ عَلٰی جَهَنَّمَ زَمَانٌ لَیْسَ فِیْهَا اَحَدٌ

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(۱) قرآن مجید، ۱۱ : ۱۰۶، ۱۰۷، ۱۰۸ *

(۲) برای حالات حضرت ابن مسعود رجوع کنید بترجمهٔ انگلیسی *

وَ ذٰلِكَ بَعْدَ مَا يَمْسَكُوْنَ فِيْهَا اَحْقَابًا - يعني مي آيد بر دوزخ زماني که نباشد هیچکس از دوزخیان در آن بعد ازآنکه مدّتِ طویل در آن مانده باشند - و بر آوردنِ اهلِ بهشت را از بهشت آن باشد که پیش از بر طرف شدنِ آسمانها و زمینها اگر خدا خواهد ایشان را در فردوسِ اعلیٰ در آرد که عطای او بی نهایت است و نیز ازین آیهٔ کریمه ثابت شده وَ رِضْوَانٌ مِّنَ اللهِ اَكْبَرُ ذٰلِكَ هُوَالْفَوْزُ الْعَظِيْمُ (۱) یعني الله تعالیٰ را بهشتی است بزرگتر از بهشتها که اهل هند آن را بیکنٹهه گویند و این بزرگترین رستگاریست بطورِ موحّدانِ هند *

۱۹ — بیان قیامت

بطورِ موحّدانِ هند اینست که بعد از بودن در دوزخ و بهشت چون مدتهای طویل بگذرد مها پرلی شود که عبارت از قیامتِ کُبریٰ است که از آیهٔ کریمه فَاِذَا جَآءَتِ الطَّآمَّةُ الْكُبْرٰي (۲) یعني وقتیکه بیاید قیامتِ کُبریٰ مفهوم میشود و ازین آیه نیز معلوم میشود وَ نُفِخَ فِي الصُّوْرِ فَصَعِقَ مَنْ فِي السَّمٰوٰتِ وَ مَنْ فِي الْاَرْضِ اِلَّا مَنْ شَاءَ اللهُ (۳) یعني وقتیکه دمیده میشود صور پس بیهوش میشود هرکه در آسمانها و زمینها ست مگر شخصی را که خواسته باشد خدای تعالیٰ از بیهوش شدن نگاه دارد و آن جماعتِ عارفان باشد که محفوظ اند از بیهوشي و بیخبري هم در دنیا وهم در آخرت - و بعد از بر طرف شدنِ آسمانها و زمینها و فاني شدنِ دوزخها و بهشتها و تمام شدنِ مدّتِ عمرِ برهماند و نبودنِ برهماند اهلِ بهشت و دوزخ را مُکت خواهد شد، یعنی

(۱) قرآن مجید، ۹ : ۷۲ * (۲) قرآن مجید، ۷۹ : ۳۴ *
(۳) ایضاً ۳۹ : ۶۸ *

هر دو در حضرتِ ذات مستهلک و محو شوند - بموجبِ این آیه كُلُّ مَنْ عَلَيْهَا فَانٍ وَّ يَبْقَى وَجْهُ رَبِّكَ ذُوالْجَلٰلِ وَ الْاِكْرَامِ (۱) ٭

۲۰ — بیان مُکت

مُکت عبارت از استهلاک و محو شدنِ تعیّنات باشد در حضرت ذات که از آیهٔ کریمه وَ رِضْوَانٌ مِّنَ اللهِ اَكْبَرُ ذٰلِكَ هُوَ الْفَوْزُ الْعَظِيْمُ (۲) ظاهر میشود، و داخل شدن در رضوانِ اکبر که فردوسِ اعلیٰ باشد رستگاریِ بزرگ است که مُکت باشد و مُکت بر سه قسم است - اوّل جیون مُکت یعني رستگاري در زندگانی و جیون مُکت نزدِ ایشان آنست که در ایّامِ حیاتِ خود بدولتِ عرفان و شناسائی حق تعالیٰ رستگار و خلاص باشد و در همین جهان همه چیز را یکی بیند و یکی داند و اعمال و افعال و حرکات و سکنات و نیک و بد را نسبت بخود و بغیر نکند و خود را با جمیع اشیای موجوده عینِ حق شناسد و در همه مراتب حق را جلوه‌گر داند و تمام برهماند را که صوفیای کرام آن را عالمِ کبریٰ گفته اند و صورتِ کلیّتِ خداست بمنزلهٔ بدنِ جسمانیِ خدا گرداند - عنصرِ اعظم که مها اکاس باشد بمنزلهٔ سوچهم سریر یعني بدنِ لطیفِ خدا، و ذاتِ خدا بمنزلهٔ روحِ آن بدن، و آن را یک شخصِ معیّن دانسته از ذرّه تا بکوه با عوالمِ ظاهر و باطن سوای ذاتِ آن یگانهٔ بی همتا نبیند و نداند - چنانکه یک انسان که اورا عالمِ صغیر گفته اند باختلافِ عضوهای مختلفهٔ متکثّره یک فرد است و بکثرتِ اعضاء ذاتِ او متعدّد نیست، آن ذاتِ واحد را نیز بکثرتِ تعیّنات متعدّد نشناسد،

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(۱) قرآن مجید، ۵۵ : ۲۶، ۲۷ ٭ (۲) قرآن مجید، ۹ : ۷۲ ٭

* بیت *

جهان یکسر چه ارواح و چه اجسام * بُوَد شخصی معیّن عالمش نام

پس حق سُبْحَانَهٗ تَعَالیٰ را روح و جانِ این شخصِ معیّن داند که از هیچ سرِ موی جدا نیست - چنانچه شیخ سعدالدّین حموی[1] فرماید، * رباعي *

حق جانِ جهان است و جهان جمله بدن
ارواح و ملایک و حواس این همه تن
افلاک و عناصر و موالید و اعضاء
توحید همین است و دگر شیوه و فن

و همچنین موحّدانِ هند مثل بیاس وغیره تمام برهماند را که عالم کبیر است شخصِ واحد دانسته عضوهای بدنِ اورا چنین بیان نموده اند بجهتِ آنکه صوفيِ صافي در هر وقت بر هرچه نظر کند بداند که بر فلان عضو مها پُرس که اینجا عبارت از ذاتِ حق سُبْحَانَهٗ تَعَالیٰ است نظر داشتم - پاتال که طبقهٔ هفتمِ زمین باشد کفِ پای مها پُرس است، رساتل که طبقهٔ ششم زمین باشد پشت پای مها پُرس است، و شیاطین انگشتهای پای مها پُرس اند و جانورانِ سواریِ شیطان ناخنهای پای مها پُرس اند - مهاتل که طبقهٔ پنجم زمین است شتالنگِ مها پُرس است - تلاتل که طبقهٔ چهارمِ زمین بُوَد ساقِ مها پُرس است - سوتل که طبقهٔ سیوم زمین باشد زانوی مها پُرس است - بتل که طبقهٔ دوم زمین است رانِ مها پُرس است اَتل که طبقهٔ اوّلِ زمین است عضوِ مخصوصِ مها پُرس است - کال یعني زمانه رفتارِ مها پُرس است - پرجاتت دیوتا که باعثِ توالد و تناسلِ تمام عالم

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(۱) برای حالات حضرت سعد الدین حموی رجوع کنید بترجمهٔ انگلیسی *

است علامتِ مردی و قوّتِ رجولیتِ مها پُرس است - باران نطفهٔ مها پُرس است - بھولوک یعني از زمین تا آسمان پائین نافِ مها پُرس است - سه کوهِ جنوبی دستِ راست مها پُرس است و سه کوهِ شمالی دستِ چپِ مها پُرس است و سُمیر پربت سُرینِ مها پُرس است - روشنيِ صبحِ کاذب تارِ مغزیٔ جامهٔ مها پُرس است، روشنيِ صبحِ صادق رنگِ سفیدِ جامهٔ چادرِ مها پُرس است (که اَلْکِبْرِیَاءُ رِدَائِیْ اشاره بآن میکند) و وقت شام که رنگِ شفق دارد پارچهٔ سترِ عورتِ مها پُرس است (که اَلْعَظْمَةُ اِزَارِیْ کنایه بآن میکند) - سمندر یعني بحرِ محیط حلقه و عمق نافِ مها پُرس است و بدوانل مکانِ آتشیست که آبِ هفت دریا را حالا هم جذب میکند و طغیانِ شدن نمیدهد، و در قیامتِ کبری تمام آب را خشک خواهد کرد و این حرارت و گرمیِ معدهٔ مها پُرس است، و دریاهای دیگر رگهای مها پُرس است، و چنانکه همه رگها بناف میرسد همه دریاها بسمندر منتهی میگردد - گنگا و جمنا و سرستي شهرگِ مها پُرس است - انگلا جمنان بیکلا جمونا سکهمنا سرستي بھولوک که بالای بھولوک است و دیوتهای گندهرپ آنجا میباشند و آواز از آنجا برمیخیزد شکمِ مها پُرس است - آتشِ قیامتِ صغری اشتهای حاضریٔ مها پُرس است، و خشک شدنِ آبها در قیامتِ صغری تشنگي (و آب خوردنِ) مها پُرس است - سرگ لوک که بالای بھولوک است، طبقه ایست از طبقاتِ بهشت سینهٔ مها پُرس است که همیشه شادي و خوشحالی و آرام دروست - و جمیع ستارهها از اقسامِ جواهرِ مها پُرس است - بخشش پیش از سوال که جود و

فضل است پستانِ راست و بخشش بعد از سوال که عطاست پستانِ چپ
مها پُرس است - و اعتدال که رجوگن و ستوگن و تموگن باشند و آن را پر کرت
گویند دلِ مها پُرس است، و چنانکه کنول سه رنگ دارد، سُفید و سرخ
و بنفش، دل هم که بصورتِ کنول است سه صفت دارد، و این از
سه رنگِ ظهور است، که برهما و بشن و مهیش باشند - برهما که
من هم نام دارد حرکت و ارادهٔ دلِ مها پُرس است، بشن رحم و مهرِ
مها پُرس است، مهیش قهر و غضبِ مها پُرس است - ماه تبسّم
و خوشحالیِ مها پُرس است که حرارتِ الم و اندوه را بر طرف میسازد و شب
کمانِ مها پُرس است - کوه سُمیر پت استخوانِ میانِ پشت مها پُرس است
و کوههای دستِ راست و چپ سمر استخوانِ فرعهای یعني پسلي های
مها پُرس است، و هشت فرشته که کوتوال اند و اَندر که سردارِ آنهاست
و کمالِ قوّت دارد و بخشیدن و باریدن و نه بخشیدن ونباریدن متعلق باوست
هر دو دستِ مها پُرس اند، دستِ راست بخشش و بارش و دستِ
چپ امساکِ بخششِ مها پُرس است - امچهرا که حورانِ بهشت اند
خطوطِ کف دستِ مها پُرس است و فرشتها که آن را چچهه مي نامند
ناخنهای دستِ مها پُرس است - سه فرشتهٔ لوک پال دستِ راست
مها پُرس است، (از بند دست تا انچ اگن نام فرشته) و جم فرشته بازوی مها پُرس
است و لوکپال فرشته دستِ چپ مها پُرس است، کبیر فرشته زانوی
پای مها پُرس است و کلپ برچهه که طوبیٰ باشد عصای مها پُرس است،
قُطب جنوبي کتفِ راست و قُطب شمالی کتفِ چپ مها پُرس است

و برن نام فرشتهٔ لوک پال که موکّلِ آب است و در سمت مغرب میباشد مهرهٔ گردن مها پُرس است ، انا هت که سلطان‌الاذکار است آوازِ باریکِ مها پُرس است - مهر لوک که بالای سرگ لوک است گلو و گردنِ مها پُرس است - جن لوک که بالای مهر لوک است روی مبارکِ مها پُرس است ، خواهشِ عالم زنخِ مها پُرس است - طمع که در عالم است لبِ پائینِ مها پُرس است شرم و حیا لبِ بالای مها پُرس است ، سینه یعنی محبّت و الفت بُن دندانهای مها پُرس است و خورشِ همه عالم خوراکِ مها پُرس است ، عنصر آب کام و دهنِ مها پُرس است ، عنصرِ آتش زبانِ مها پُرس است ، سرستي قوّتِ ناطقهٔ مها پُرس و چار بید یعنی چار کتابِ صدق و راستی گفتارِ مها پُرس است ، مایا یعني عشق که باعثِ ایجادِ عالم است خنده و خوش طبعیِ مها پُرس است و هشت جهتِ عالم هر دو گوشِ مها پُرس است ، اشني کمار که دو فرشته در کمالِ حُسن اند هر دو پرّهٔ بینیِ مها پُرس اند ، گندهه تن ماتر یعني عنصرِ خاک قوّتِ شامّهٔ مها پُرس است - عنصرِ باد نفس زدنِ مها پُرس است ، میانِ جن لوک و تپ لوک که طبقهٔ پنجم و ششمِ بهشت است و از نورِ ذات پر است نصف جنوبيِ آن چشم راست و نصف شماليِ آن چشمِ چپِ مها پُرس است - و اصلِ نور که آن را آفتابِ ازلي گویند قوّتِ بینائی مها پُرس است - تمام آفرینش نگاهِ لطفِ مها پُرس است ، روز و شبِ عالم چشم برهم زدنِ مها پُرس است - متر نام فرشته که موکّل دوستي و محبّت است و توستا نام فرشته که موکّل قهر و غضب

است هر دو ابروی مها پُرس است، پت لوک که بالای جن لوک است پیشانیِ مها پُرس است - و لوک که بالای همه لوکهاست کاسهٔ سرِ مها پُرس است - آیاتِ توحید و کتاب‌الله اُمّ‌الدماغِ مها پُرس است ابرهای سیاه که بارانِ مها پرلی دارد موی سرِ مها پُرس است، و نباتاتِ همه کوه‌ها موی بدنِ مها پُرس است، لچهمي که دولت و خوبیِ عالم است حُسنِ مها پُرس است، آفتابِ درخشان صفای بدنِ مها پُرس است، بهوت اکاس مساماتِ بدنِ مها پُرس است، چد اکاس روحِ بدنِ مها پُرس است، صورتِ هر فرد انسان خانهٔ مها پُرس است، انسانِ کامل خلوت‌خانه و محلِّ خاصِ مها پُرس است، چنانچه بفرمود بداؤد علیه السلام که ایْ داؤد برای من خانهٔ بساز گفت خداوندا تو منزّهي از خانه، فرمود خانهٔ من توئی دل را از غیر خالي کُن - و هرچه درین برهماند بر سبیلِ تفصیل است در انسان که نسخهٔ عالمِ کبیر است بطریقِ اجمال همه موجود است، کسیکه چنین داند و بیند اوراست جیون مُکت و در حقِّ اوست آیهٔ کریمه فَرِحِيْنَ بِمَآ اٰتٰهُمُ اللّٰهُ مِنْ فَضْلِهٖ (۱) یعنی خوشحال اند آن جماعت بآنچه داده است ایشان را خدای تعالی از فضلِ خود *

دوم — سرب مُکت یعني رستگاریِ همه و آن استهلاک در ذاتست و آن شاملِ همه موجودات است و بعد از قیامتِ کبریٰ و فنای آسمان و زمین و بهشت و دوزخ و نبودنِ برهماند و نبودنِ روز و شب از محویّت در ذات رستگار و خلاص باشند و آیهٔ کریمه وَرِضْوَانٌ مِّنَ اللّٰهِ اَكْبَرُ ذٰلِكَ هُوَ الْفَوْزُ

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(۱) قرآن مجید، ۳: ۱۶۹ *

اَلْعَظِيْمُ (۱) و اَلَا اِنَّ اَوْلِيَآءَ اللهِ لَا خَوْفٌ عَلَيْهِمْ وَلَا هُمْ يَحْزَنُوْنَ (۲) يعني بدرستيكه عارفانِ خدا را نيست ترسي و نيستند آنها اندوهگين اشارهٔ بهمين مُكث است *

سيوم — سربدا مُكت يعني رستگاريِ پس - سربدا مُكت آن باشد كه در هر مرتبه كه سيركنند خواه در روز خواه در شب خواه در عالمِ باطن خواه در عالم ظاهر خواه برهماند نمايد خواه ننمايد و خواه در ماضي خواه حال و خواه در مستقبل كه بهوت بهوشت برتمان گويند عارف و رستگار و خلاص باشد - و هرجا كه در آياتِ قرآني در بابِ بودن در جنّت خٰلِدِيْنَ فِيْهَا اَبَدًا واقع شده يعني هميشه خواهند بود در آن بهشت مراد از جنّت معرفت است و مراد از لفظ ابدا ابديّتِ اين مُكت است، چه در هر نشاء كه باشد استعدادِ معرفت و عناياتِ ازلى دركار است، چنانچه اين دو آيهٔ كريمه در بابِ اينچنين جماعت وارد است يُبَشِّرُهُمْ رَبُّهُمْ بِرَحْمَةٍ مِّنْهُ وَ رِضْوَانٍ وَّ جَنّٰتٍ لَّهُمْ فِيْهَا نَعِيْمٌ مُّقِيْمٌ خٰلِدِيْنَ فِيْهَآ اَبَدًا اِنَّ اللهَ عِنْدَهٗٓ اَجْرٌ عَظِيْمٌ (۳) - يعني مژده ميدهد ايشان را پروردگارِ ايشان برحمتي از خود و مژده ميدهد بفردوسِ اعلى و بهشتها كه مر ايشان راست در آن بهشتها نعمتهاى دائمي و رستگارى بى انقطاع از نزديكِ حق تعالى بدرستيكه مزديست بزرگ - و نيز آيهٔ كريمهٔ ديگر وَ يُبَشِّرُ الْمُؤْمِنِيْنَ الَّذِيْنَ يَعْمَلُوْنَ الصّٰلِحٰتِ اَنَّ لَهُمْ اَجْرًا حَسَنًا مَّاكِثِيْنَ فِيْهِ اَبَدًا (۴) - يعنى مژده بدهيد (پيغمبر صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمْ) مومنانرا كه عمل ميكنند نيک كه حصول معرفتِ حق سُبْحَانَهٗ تَعَالى باشد و بدرستيكه مر عارفانرا ست مزدى نيكو كه فردوسِ اعلى باشد و درنگ كنندگان باشند و هميشه مانندگان اندران فردوسِ اعلى *

(۱) قرآن مجيد، ۹ : ۷۲ * (۲) قرآن مجيد، ۱۰ : ۶۲ *
(۳) قرآن مجيد، ۹ : ۲۱ * (۴) قرآن مجيد، ۱۸ : ۲، ۳ *

۲۱ — بیان روز و شب

الوهیّتِ ظهور و بطون - بطورِ موحّدانِ هند عمر برهما که جبرئیل باشد و فنای برهماند و تمامیِ روز ظهور که روزِ الوهیّت باشد هژده انچ سالِ دنیا ست که هرانجي هزار سالِ دنیا باشد بموجبِ این دو آیهٔ کریمه وَ اِنَّ یَوْماً عِنْدَ رَبِّكَ كَاَلْفِ سَنَةٍ مِمَّا تَعُدُّوْنَ (۱) - یعني بدرستیکه روزیست نزد پروردگار تو مانند هزار سال که مي شمارند اهل دنیا و آیهٔ کریمه، تَعْرُجُ الْمَلٰئِكَةُ وَ الرُّوْحُ اِلَيْهِ فِيْ يَوْمٍ كَانَ مِقْدَارُهٗ خَمْسِيْنَ اَلْفَ سَنَةٍ (۲) یعني راجع میشوند بسوی پروردگارِ خود فرشتگان و روح که عبارت از جبرئیل و برهماست در روزیکه مقدار آن روز پنجاه هزار سال و هر روز ازین پنجاه هزار از هزار سال متعارف است که در آیهٔ اوّل بآن تصریح شده - پس مدّتِ عمر جبرئیل و مدّتِ عمرِ روز و عمرِ تمامیِ عالم که برهماند باشد حساب میکنم هیجده انچ سال دنیا باشد و هر انجی هزار سال باشد بی کم و زیاد، مطابقِ حسابِ موحّدانِ هند- و بدانکه خصوصیتِ اعداد هژده نزد ایشان منحصر بر هشت ده است و ازین بالاتر مرتبهٔ شمار قرار نداده اند و قیامت‌های صغری که درین میان گذشته اند و خواهند گذشت آن قیامتها را کهنده پرلی میگویند مثلِ طوفانِ آب یا طوفانِ آتش یا طوفانِ باد، و چون این مدّت تمام گردد این روز شام شود و قیامتِ کبری خواهد شد که آن را مها پرلی گویند بحکم این دو آیاتِ کریمه یَوْمَ تُبَدَّلُ الْاَرْضُ غَيْرَ الْاَرْضِ (۳) یعني روزیکه بَدَل کرده شود زمین را

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(۱) قرآن مجید، ۲۲ : ۴۷ * (۲) قرآن مجید، ۷۰ : ۴ * (۳) قرآن مجید، ۱۴ : ۴۸ *

بغیر زمین و يَوْمَ نَطْوِى السَّمَاءَ كَطَىِّ السِّجِلِّ لِلْكُتُبِ [1] یعنی روزیکه پیچیم آسمانرا مانندِ کاغذ برای کتابت - و بعد از قیامتِ کبری در شبِ بطون که در برابرِ روزِ ظهور است و استهلاکِ جمیع تعیّنات در حضرتِ ذات خواهد شد نیز هژده سال انچ دنیا ست - اوستهاتم که عبارت از سکهوپت و جبروت است، مدّتِ این سکهوپت حضرتِ ذات است که اورا فراغ است از ایجادِ خلق و اعدامِ عالم و آیهٔ کریمه سَنَفْرُغُ لَكُمْ اَيُّهَ الثَّقَلٰنِ [2] یعنی زود است که فارغ میشویم از شما ای جن و انس اشاره باین سکهوپت است، و حضرتِ ذات در ایّامِ ظهورِ عالم در مقامِ ناسوت است و در قیامتهای صغری در مقامِ ملکوت و بعد از قیامتِ کبری در مقام جبروت *

ای عزیز آنچه درین باب نوشته شده بعد از دقّتِ تمام و تحقیقِ بسیار مطابقِ کشف خود است و این کشف باین دو آیهٔ کریمه مطابق افتاد و با آنکه تو در هیچ کتابی ندیدهٔ و از هیچکس نشنیدهٔ - اگر بر گوشِ بعضی از ناقصان گران آید مارا ازین معنی باکی نیست فَاِنَّ اللّٰهَ غَنِىٌّ عَنِ الْعٰلَمِيْنَ [3] *

۲۲ — بیان بی نهایتیٔ ادوار

نزدِ محقّقانِ اهل هند حق تعالی را نه همین یک شب است و یک روز بلکه این شب که تمام شود باز روز میشود و روز که آخر شود شب می آید اِلٰی غَیْرِ النِّهَایَتْ - و این را اناد پرواه میگویند - خواجه حافظ علیه الرحمة اشارهٔ بهمین بی نهایتی ادوار نموده گفته است *

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(۱) قرآن مجید، ۲۱ : ۱۰۴ * (۲) قرآن مجید، ۵۵ : ۳۱ * (۳) قرآن مجید، ۳ : ۹۶ *

ماجرای من و معشوقِ مرا پایان نیست
هرچه آغاز ندارد نپذیرد انجام

و هرچه از خصوصیاتِ ظهورِ ذات و مخفیات در روز و شبِ پیشین مشده بی کم و بیش در روز و شبِ دیگر بعینه عَود کند بموجبِ آیۀ کریمه كَمَا بَدَأْنَا أَوَّلَ خَلْقٍ نُّعِيدُهُ (۱) - یعني چنانکه ظاهر گردانیدیم در اوّلِ خلقت موجوداتی را که معدوم گشته بود پس بعد از تمام شدنِ (این) دوره باز عالم ابوالبشر آدم عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامْ بعینه پیدا شود ولایزال چنین باشد و آیۀ کریمه كَمَا بَدَأَكُمْ تَعُودُونَ (۲) نیز دلالت برین معني میکند یعني چنانکه اوّل شما را پیدا کردم باز همان طور پیدا کنیم - اگر کسي شبه کند که خاتمیّتِ پیغمبر ما صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَ سَلَّمْ ازین ثابت نمیشود میگویم که در روز دیگر نیز پیغمبر صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَ آلِهِ وَ سَلَّمْ بعینه موجود خواهد گردید و خاتمِ پیغمبران آن روز خواهد گردید و این حدیثِ شبِ معراج نیز دلالت بر همین معني میکند - میگویند که پیغمبر صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَ سَلَّمْ قطارِ شترانرا دید که لاینقطع میروند و بر هر یکی دو صندوق بار است و در هر صندوق عالمي است مثل همین عالَم و در هر عالَم مثل خود محمّدي - از جبرئیل پرسید که این چیست - گفت یا رسول‌الله از وقتیکه آفریده شده ام مي بینم که این قطارِ شتران با صندوق میروند و من هم نمیدانم که این چیست - و این اشاره به بی نهایتي ادوار است *

اَلْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ وَ الْمِنَّه که توفیقِ اتمامِ رسالۀ مجمع البحرین یافته شد در سنه یکهزار و شصت و پنج هجریِ نبوی که چهل و دویم از سنینِ عمرِ این فقیرِ بی اندوه محمّد داراشکوه بُوَد - والسّلام *

(۱) قرآن مجید، ۲۱: ۱۰۴ * (۲) قرآن مجید، ۷: ۲۹ *

VARIANTS.

LIST OF MSS. REFERRED TO :—

1. A. MS. in the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Curzon Collection, III No. 156).
2. H. MS. in the Āṣifīya Library, Hyderabad, Deccan.
3. K. MS. in the Khudā Bakhsh Khān (Oriental Public) Library, Patna.
4. R. MS. in the Rāmpūr State Library, Rāmpūr, U.P.
5. V. MS. in the Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta.

(Page numbers refer to the pages of the printed text.)

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١ 1. K بنامی for بنام ; 2. A, K add دو before نقطه ; R omits بهم ; 3. K adds بینای before زیبای , R has بی before نظیر ; 7. R has همه اوست for همه ازوست , K omits در همه اوست ظاهر و همه ازوست ; A has بر همه اوست ; in V the first line of the quatrain is given before در همه اوست and the main text runs thus در همه اوست ظاهر، همه اوست ; 8. A, H omit باشد after نه.

٢ 3. A has خلق for فرق ; 6. R, K omit آل کرام ; A omits اوباد and adds سلمو التسلیما کثیرا کثیرا after عظام ; V omits امّا and adds چنین after بعد ; 7. K, R add بن شاهجهان بادشاه after دارا شکوه ; 8. K, R omit دقایق ; 9. H در کسب کند for درک کند ; all copies have و محققان این قوم after هند ; K, R have قدم نماید after قوم ; A has اقتدام after قوم ; 11. all the texts have سنجیدگي after خدایابي ; V has صحبت یکجا جمع کرده و صحبت‌ها داشته و گفتگوی نموده ; A has داشت و گفتگو نمود ; 14. A, H, V, R have مجمع for مجموعه ; 16. R has اکابرین قدس سره ; all texts, except A, omit هُوَ before انصاف ; 17. A. H, K, V omit.

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پس ; 21. R has بخواص و عوام ; H, V, A omit چنانچه ; all texts omit عبیدالله, except V, which has نصرالله.

٣ 1. K مي فرمودند for فرموده ; all texts, except V, have در for پر ; A, R, V بهنجار ; A adds و مي آموزم after شنوم ; A adds ازو after دار ; 4. A has همین ناسوتی ; 9. R has موجود for موجودات ; 10. R has و آن before برحق ; A, H, K have اجن, R اجل for برحق ; H adds اصل after است ; 11. A has کتب for کتاب ; 13. A has بزبان هندي for برین ; A adds و اهل اسلام را before... وَ كُنْتُ ; 14. A omits موحّدان هند ; A has پوشیده and V مخفي for پنهان ; 15. R has بیافریدیم دال است for ظاهر کردم ; H, K, A omit برای شناخت خود ; R has پس شناخته شدم after خلق را.

۴ 2. V has اجمال , H اجماعیست , K, A عماییت for اعظمیت ; 3. R omits و چون آن نفس ...... آتش پیدا شد ; A has جنبش for حبس ; 4. A, H, K, V have مخفیت for نفخیت ; 5. V omits و چون ...... آب پیدا شد ; K, R, A have ایجاد for اتحاد ; 7. A, H have نسبت بآن ; 8. A V, H, K have ظاهر for پیدا ; 9. H has شیرک and A شیر for شیری ; 13-14. all MSS., except R, omit the verse یک قطره ...... سما شد ; 17. V has و بعد ازان خاک را آب for و آن را آب ; 18. V has فرو خواهد برد before باد را روح اعظم ; A, H have بروح اعظم for با روح اعظم ; R has ساخت ; خواهد پیوست ; 21. A, V omit the translation of the verse of the *Kur'ān*.

۵ 1. H has بوده and K has شود for بُوَد ; H, R have مي before ماند ; R omits تو after پروردگار ; 2. all texts, except K, omit کریمه ; A, H have افنای for فنای ; 3. K has است after رفته ; H omits است after اکاس ; R omits آن before فنا ; 4. H has فانیست for فاني خواهد شد ; 5. A has است for باشد ; R, V omit باشد ; R omits چه ; 6. V has گویند for نامند ; all texts, except V, have زائیده for پیدا ; 7. V omits فرو ; A has این before آیه کریمه ; 8. A, H, V have ازان for از ; 9. V omits باز ; A has فرو بریم for خواهیم برد and V has و دران خاک پروردیم

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for the same ; R adds و باز بخاک سپردیم شما را ; V omits از آن خاک ; A has باز before بیرون ; 10. A adds خمسه after حواس ; 11. H, V have عنصر for عناصر ; H adds پنجگانه after عنصر ; K omits پنج عناصر ; V has حواس پنج اند ; V omits بزبان ; 12. R has هندی for هند ; A, H, V omit بزبان ; 13 A has را and K has آنهارا for آن را ; 14. V has از for ازین ; H and R have از for ازین before عناصر ; A has متعلق before جنس ; 15. K omits و منسوب بآن , A has باشد after منسوب بآن ; A, R have چنانچه before شامّه ; H omits است before بخاک ; R has چراکه for چه ; 16. R has پس for و after خاک ; all texts, except K, have کند ; V has احسان for احساس ; all texts have مناسب for منسوب, except K, which has مناسبت دارد ; 17. H reads چنانچه به ذایقه ظاهر است ; A has مناسب است for مناسبت دارد ; 18. R has ادراک for درک , V has رنگ for رنگها ; A omits است after بچشم ; K omits هر دو and R has درو for هر دو ; H has سامعه for لامسه.

۶ 1. R omits ولامسه را نسبت ... باد است ; A has مناسبت دارد for منسوب است. 2. H has بسبب for که سبب ; 4. V omits و موحّدان هند که صوفیه این را ; 5. A, H, K, V have شغل آواز for شغل پاس انفاس ; A, H, K, V omit در اصطلاح خود ; V has موحّدان هند for ایشان ; 6. all MSS. have strange variations in enumerating the five internal senses ; 8. H, K, V have چترانند کرن , while A has چترانتش کرن ; 9. A has برت , K, H have سرت پرکرت , V has سُرت, R has پرت for ست پرکرت ; 11. all texts have جانب or بجانب for طرف ; all texts, except V, have من for آن ; 12. V has هزیمت for عزیمت ; H, V, R have فتح and A has فسق for فسخ ; 13. R has هر طرف و هر سو ; 15. V has که ایشان میگویند عشق است ; 17. all texts, except R, have کلّی احاطه.

۷ 1-2. A omits translation of the *Ḳur'ānic* verse ; 3 A, H have پس after, all اوست ; 4. H has نباشد for باشد ; 6. all texts have واللّٰه ; 7. R has هر دو for ظهور ; 9. H has اولی and R has ازلی for ادنی ; 10. A, H have هئیت محسوس , V has و هئیات محسوسه and K has

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حسّیات محسوس for حیات محسوسه ; 11. R has مرتبه منی و توئي ; K omits مي افتد ......که من و تو ; V adds ازین سخن after تو ; A has دور هستم for دور مي افتد ; 12. H, K repeat جز این نیست ; 13. A has آدمی for بشری ; 14. H has معیّن and R has تعیّن for متعیّن ; 16. R has و از مقاربت سنکلپ با مہاتت ; all texts, except R, omit یعنی قلب ; K omits و از سنکلپ من و از من ; 17. R reads که آن را پرکرت نیز گویند ; 18. A, H, R have کرم for گیان ; H has احشاء for اجسام ; پنج گیان اندری.

٨ 1. R only has جبرئیل امین باشد است ...... که ظهور اوّل before این (omit. in trans.) ; 2. all texts, except V, have است for گردانیده ; 3. all texts have چنانچه for چنانکه ; 4. V omits قیود وهمي را ; R has قیودات for قیود ; 5. R omits خود را......است ; 6. H omits گلها ; 7. all texts, except R, omit پیش از...... پنهان بود ; K omits پس بدان و هوش دار ; 8. all texts, except R, omit مقدّس ; 11. all texts, except R, omit که چه and و چه ; H, K, A omit بی before اختیار ; 12. all texts, except R, omit هر آن ; V reads همي باشد for همیشه ; 14. all texts, except R, omit و آن درون رفتن و برون آمدن دم را ; all texts, except R, have تعبیر بدو لفظ کرده اند ; 15. H, V, A have سُو for او ; all texts, except R, have بیرون for درون ; A has هنگ, V هین , H حُن and R has ون for من ; R adds : این دو لفظ را که او باشد هو میگویند و آن لفظ ون را الله و این دو لفظ ...... و او بی خبر است ; 17-18. H, K, V, A omit میدانند.

٩ 2. All texts, except R, have الله تعالی را نزد صوفیه دو صفت است ; 5. all texts have چون before صوفیه ; K, R omit صفت after صوفیه ; all texts, except H, have مندرج before دیده ; 6. all texts, except H, have موکلّان for فقرای هند ; 10. H, R, A omit و آب و باد .... باسرافیل ; 12. K, R omit در زبان ; 13. A reads روشني و نور ازوست و بینائی از آن ظاهر شد ; R reads روشني و نور و بینائي است از آن ظاهر شد ; H reads as A but has درو ست for ازو ست ; 14. V omits در بینی...... فاني شود ; 15. A adds دو نفخه در صور اسرافیل یعنی آواز مهادیو بمعنی نفس زدن و نفخه ازین ظاهر شد ; 16. R omits حق باشد...... صفت هم ; 18. all texts omit مخلوق.

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١٠ 1. All texts, except R, omit و ازین ...... آن را ; 2. V has ست گن for رجوگن and omits تعلق دارد ; 3. V has رجگن for ست گن ; 6. A has جیوآتما for آتما ; 7. H, K, R have معدود for مجرّد, while A reads معدود ; 8. K adds بجهتة مقیّد بودن که before در مرتبه ; all texts, except K, have که با ذات مجمع بتعیّن اوّل متعیّن گشت ; 9. A, V, H omit الصّفات , R has جامع الصفات ; all texts omit و ذاتیکه ; 10-11. H reads نفس و موج آب , V reads نفس و روح and A, R read نفس موج و آب ; all texts read که سریر و آتما باشد ; A has جیو آتما for آتما ; A omits و مجموعهٔ........... ماند ; 13. R has یقین for چتن ; A reads آب صرف بحت (?) بمنزلهٔ حضرت واجب‌الوجود باشد.

١١ 2. A adds یعنی کپال after امّ‌الدماغ است ; 5. R has ناچار گزیر گریز موافق ; 7. all texts omit عالم before ملکوت ; 9. all texts have ازان نیست for مناسب ; 11. H omits عالم ارواح ; R adds وغیره after باشد ; V adds در آن نقوش آن عالم ارواح after جبروت ; 12. R reads که عالم ارواح باشد باشد که در آن عالم تمیز......، ; R omits بینی while H has نشینی for أستاد ; A has خواه چشم پوشیده بینی خواه وا کرده ; 14. V omits بینی خبر داده و فرموده. ; K omits سِرّهٗ ...... بغدادي ; K, R have سِرّهٗ ......

١٢ 1. R has التصوّف ; H has بنشین ; H has پیٔ for بی ; A has پرسید for گفت ; 2. R has چه باشد و چه خواهد بود and V has چه میشود for چه بود ; R, V omit فرمود که ; H, K have فرموده ; A omits که ; A has دیدن for دیدار ; R has زیراکه and A, H, K, V have که for چه ; A adds را after بیننده ; K reads و بیننده در پیٔ دیدار غفلت است ; 3. H omits که نقوش ; 4. R has سماعت for ساعت ; H, K, A have بخاطر نگذارد , while V has بگذارد ; In R, from که نقوش عالم ناسوت up to p. 13, line 12, is omitted ; 5. A omits است ...... اشاره ; 6. A, V add تا after خواهي که ; A omits یک and has مجو آنش for مجویش ; 7. A, H, V add تا after خواهي که ; A, H have بدانش and V has ندانش for مدانش ; 9. H has آشکارا for آشکار ; 10. A, H read بیرون شوي ببرهان, V reads بیرون شوي زمانش, while K reads بیرون شوي ز برهان ; 11. H,

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A, V read پاها دراز کن خوش مي خسپ ; 12. A adds اشارت باین معنی
است before و ثریا .

۱۳ 1. A has هویّت for لاهوت ; 4. A, V, K add ناد and H adds و ناد after آواز ; 5. all texts have بجهته for بوقت ; A reads آواز باد را فقرای هندیان نفس‌الرحمان که بجهت ایجاد لفظ کن ظاهر شد ; 6. A, H, K, V add ناد after آواز ; 8. A, H read همه عالم صدای نغمهٔ اوست ; 9. K reads که بشنید این صدای را هم آواز ; 13. A, H, R omit آگاه after اکابر .

۱۴ 1. K omits بی ; H, K omit الفاظ ; 3-4. A, V read اوّل ظاهر شده , H has اوون باشد ظاهر شد , R has او باشد and K has الف واو میم باشد ; 6. R reads پس ازین ظاهر شد ; H reads اسم راست صورتی خاص , A reads اسم راست صورتی خواست and H reads مر این اسم اعظم را صورتیست خاص ; R reads مر این اسم را صورتی است خاص ; 7. R, V omit ما .

۱۵ 2. K has بصورت for بصفت ; 4. V adds الصفات اولیائی در حق ایشان خود فرموده after منزّه است ; 5. K adds ورنگ که after صفات ; R has اولیای اکمل ; all texts, except R, omit حق سُبْحَانَهُ تَعَالیٰ ; 6. R has دیگر نمی یابد for دیگری در نمی یابد ; 7. H, V have شخصی ; 8. R has رود for شود ; H has بیند and V بکند for بنشیند ; H, V omit نه بچشم بیند ; 9. all texts, except R, omit و حال آنکه ; 10. all texts, except H, omit همیشه ; A, R have همه این کارها ; K, V have این همه کارها and H omits همه ; 11. R adds چشم before چراغ ; R has همین در یکدیگر ; all texts, except R, omit جَلَّ شَانُهُ .

۱۶ 1. A has فهم for فکر ; R has اصل همه فرع است for جای فراست و فکراست ; 2. R has تفکر في ساعة خیر من عمل عبادةالثقلین , H reads التفکر ساعة خیر من عمل الثقلین , K reads و تفکروا ساعة خیر من عمل الثقلین , V reads تفکر ساعة خیرا من عمل الثقلین , and A reads تفکر ساعة خیر من عمل الثقلین ; 3. R reads یعنی درین فکر بودن بهتر است ; 5. R omits مفهوم میگردد ; 6. all texts, except R, omit این نور ; all texts, except R, have خواه عالم درو نماید خواه ننماید ; all texts have همیشه after خود بخود ; 7. R adds لفظ before نور ; K has نور for منوّر ; R has کرده اند for میکنند ;

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H reads بمنوّر تعبیر ; K has تعبیر for تفسیر ; 8. A, H have تفسیر نمیکنند ; 12. V omits شیشه ; 13. all texts add بآن چراغ after افروخته نکرده اند ; 15. R has حال آنکه and H has تا آنکه for با آنکه ; all texts, except R, have بآن روغن for باو ; 16. H, K have نوریست پر نور, while V omits پر نور ; 17. H, K, V have شخصی را که for هر کرا که ; 18. all texts omit این باشد که ; A has طاقچه.

۱۷ 1. A, K, V add و آن شیشه که روح است after روح است ; H has و آن شیشه که هم روح است و افروخته شده ; 2-3. A, H, K omit هم ; R omits افروخته شده است از شجرهٔ مبارکِ ذات که منزّه است آن چراغ ; A reads است ; 3. R adds صلوة الله علیه و سلّم after نور وجود ; all texts, except R, omit حق سبحانه تعالی ; 4. all texts omit مراد است ; A, R read که نه شرقیست نه غربي ; 5. R has ازین روح for از زیت ; all texts, except R, omit که نه ازلی و نه ابدی است ; R adds مبارک after زیت ; 6. all texts, except R, omit و تابان ; 7. A, K add موحّدان after أستاد and H adds موحّدان هند ; R omits استاد ; 8. A, K have زیتون for ناسوت ; A reads صورت سماع کتاب نیست , H has یا نور و سماع کتاب نیست , K has و ساعتی و اکتساب نیست , R has و سماع کتاب نیست and V has و سماع و کتاب نیست ; 9. all texts, except R, omit ذاتی ; 10. V has نورانیّت for نور زیت ; all texts add با after زیت ; K has غایت ; R omits یعنی از...و باین ; 11. H, K, R have باینهمه and A و با وجود اینهمه for وباین ; V has با وجود for او خود ; 14. A omits نور ذات ... ظاهر است ; 16. all texts, except H, omit نور ; all texts, except R, omit تابان و ; 17. A, H have از کسب نور ذات , while V has از کسب ذات ; K has افروخته for افزوده.

۱۸ 3. A adds و بچشم باطن باید دید after بچشم سر ; 5. H, K, V add و اختلافي and A adds اختلاف after شبهی ; A omits و بینایان and V has اینایان for بینایان ; K adds دو after هر ; 6. all texts, except K, omit چه اهل توریت و چه اهل انجیل و چه ; in A the order is و چه اهل بید هر که انکار رویت اهل زبور و قرآن ; 7. A has ناقصان for نا بینایان ; V omits نماید ; A reads هر که انکار رویت کرده ...... ملت خود کرده ; 8. all texts

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have در for بر ; 9. A, R, K omit هم ; R has ربّاني for سنّت و الجماعت ; 10. A, H, K, V omit گفته ; A, H, V, K have صرف for بحت ; R reads یعنی اگر میگفتي که بحت را بتوان دید که دیدن ذات بحت محال است ; K omits را ; A omits توان دید ; K omits این ; 11. all texts, except R, add چه ذات بحت و صرف و لطیف بی تعیّن تا متعیّن ; A reads و صرف نگردد, V reads ذات بحت و صرف و لطیف است متعیّن نگردد ; 12. R reads از شدّت لطافت جلوه گر نمیشود ; 14. all texts, except R, omit زیراکه ; R has چون for هرگاه ; V has مجال for کمال ; R adds از کمال قدرت before قادر ; 15. R adds نیز after نمودن خود ; R has پس هرکه ; A, H have تواند در آنجا دید ; 17. A, H, K add پس آن شخص after محروم است ; 18. R adds و بی بهره after محروم ; A omits از نعمت جمال من ; 19, R adds درین مسئله خطای و بعضی از نا رسیدگان before شیعه ; R omits بهر حال صورتي عظیم کرده اند ; 20. R omits ممکن and has درست for داشت .

19 1. all texts, except R, omit ایشان جمیع ; R has خطای عظیم کرده اند for این نهایت خطا ست ; 2. all texts, except R, have کاملان و انبیا و اولیا , R omits خدا را ; A has دیدند ; all texts, except R, omit با احترام ; 3. R has کلام حق را از همه و از همه جهات شنودند ; 4. all texts, except R, omit البتّه باشند ; all texts have چنانچه for چنانکه ; 5. A, H, K add از خدا after خیر و شر ; R omits و خانهای متبرّک ; 7. all texts, except R, omit از نا رسیدگان ; R omits در معني و لفظ ; 8. H, K, V read این حدیث که حضرت رسول الله (صلعم) در خواب حضرت عایشه صدیقه وقتیکه پرسیده بود (خواب is evidently a mistake for جواب)— ; A adds وقتی before پرسید ; 9. R has made strange additions and alterations : چون عایشه خورد سال بود نفهمید و این معني ندانست لهذا گفت نوریست چگونه مي بینم , A, V have نورانیت for نوریست ; 10. A, H, V have آنانکه for آنها ; 11. R reads این را دلیل نادیدن پیغمبر مي‌آرند غلط محض است و بی وقوف اند ; all texts omit لاکن این ; 12. all texts, except R, omit تام ; 13. V adds در پردهٔ نور و اگر حس نظر بذات بحت بیرنگ است after و هریک است ; 16. R adds جمال before پروردگار;

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17. all texts, except R, have برای رویت for بر رویت پروردگار جَلَّ شَانُهُ ; unfortunately, a sentence has been omitted in the printed text which runs as follows : چه این دیدن متعلق بلفظ رب شدهٔ است که اورا در تعیّن ربوبیت مي توان دید and R's reading is as follows : پس این دیدن لا تعیّن است در همه تعیّن و تعیّنات ; 18. R adds بذات بحت after بیرنگي ; 19. all texts add اورا after بصرها ; R adds و لا تعیّن است after بیرنگي ; A has و او دریابد صاحب دیدهٔ ها را ; A, R omit و آو ...... بیرنگیست ; R adds پس این آیت هم مانع ادراک بحت میشود نه مانع رویت .

۲۰ 5. K omits درمیان ; 6. R adds و جسم مبارک after چشم ; 7. K adds نهایت and R adds و کمال شهود و کمال عرفان after رویت ; A, H, K have رویت after این ; R reads و این رویت را از دنیا مانع نیست و در آخرت درکار نیست ; 10. A reads خدای تعالیٰ را اسمای .

۲۱ 3. H omits اسم ; H has الحی and A, R have حق for الحق ; 4. A adds و مرید را سونتر گویند , K has مرشد را سوتنت and H, R have مرید را سوتنت after در شنّا خوانند ; 5. R omits بزبان ایشان ; 6. R adds بعنی حضرت محمّد مصطفیٰ صلی الله علیه و آله و سلّم و حضرت علي کرّم‌الله وجهه را مها اوتار نامند after مظهراتم ; R adds نزد ایشان before آن باشد and معجزهٔ before قدرت ; 7. all texts, except R, omit و از وجود او بنظر آید ; R has نوع انسانی ; 8. A, K have نتواند شد , H has نتوان شد and V has نبودهٔ باشد for نشود ; all texts, except R, omit که بر پیغمبر نازل شود ; 9-10. A, V have صعب ترین وحي ها برمن , H has صعب ترین وحي برمن آن است وحي آنست and K has اوقات وحيِ ما آنست ; 11. R omits و چون ...... میشود ; 12. A has خوبان جنان , K has حوران جنان and R has خوبان حسینان for خوبان جنیان ; K adds و بقیان گویند after انچهرا گویند ; 13. R has دشنّان for بدان ; A reads دیوان شیاطین اند .

۲۲ 4. H adds یعنی منزّه و هم مشابهت دارد که نور منزّه هم است و مشابه هم توان گفت after و التنزیه ; all texts omit اوّل , while R has پس ; 5. A omits تنزیه ; 6. R has وعظ و تلقین کنند and V has هدایت کنند for خوانند ; 7. R omits و از قول آنها نفعی نبرد ; all texts, except V, have

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نبرند ; 8. R has نرسیدند ; 9. all texts, except R, omit خود ; 10. V has بر and A, H, K have در for از ; R reads و امر و سخن حق شنید ; all texts, except R, omit حق ; H, K, V have امّت اکثری and R has امّتی اکثر ; 11. A, H, K add خدا after عصیان ; K has متعبّدان and H has بیقیدان for مقلّدان ; 12. A has زمان زمانی for زمان ما ; A omits آنانکه, while H has آنهائیکه ; R adds تقلید محض after برین ; 13. all texts, except H, have فرو رفته اند ; H, K add صورتهای and A adds صوتهای before مرغوب ; 14. R adds خود را هلاک نمودند after اند ; R reads پیروي بوده است بتو همیشه ; 16. R has جور و فلک ; 18. R reads زنهار نباید نمود و خواهد بود and V reads بوده است همان با تو هم خواهد بود ; R adds after the verse (صلعم) و این مرتبه نبوّت تکمله محمّد یست ; 20. A, V have نبوّت کامل تنزیهه, while H, K have نبوّت کامل نبوّت محمّدیست ; A adds محمّدیست, تنزیهه و تشبیهه after وَ سَلَّمَ, while H, K add تنزیهه و تشبیهه only ; R reads و تشبیهه است جامع التشبیه والتنزیه و جامع المطلق والمقیّد ; A has رنگ و رنگ, while R reads رنگ در بیرنگي و بیرنگي در رنگ ; 21. all texts, except K, omit نزدیک و دور ; all texts, except K, have یکی for یکجا.

۲۳ 2. R has تشبیه for تنزیه ; R omits و شنوای ..... بوَد ; 3. A reads این مرتبه جامع است و خاتمت, H reads این مرتبۀ بلند جامعیت و قایمیت, K reads این مرتبه جمعیت و خاتمیت ; all texts, except R, omit ترین و اعلی ترین ; 4. all texts, except R, omit بذات ; all texts, except R, omit پس رسول ما ; A, H, K have مشرق و مغرب ; 5. R omits نبوّت...... عاریست از نبوّت تنزیهي ; 6. H omits شامل ; 7. all texts, except R, have این چنین ; R adds کامله after ولایت ; 8. R has حق for وصف ; 9. H, K add در امّت محمّدي and V adds یعنی در امّت محمّدی هم after تنزیه اند ; R, which has apparently been transcribed by a *Shī'a* adds : بهترین افراد نوع انسانی که بخطاب لحمک لحمی (و) فرمان انا مدینة العلم و علی بابها شاه ولایت حضرت علي کرم الله وجهه تا امام مهدي صلوة الله علیه و سلامه ؛ و از آنجمله سرگروه اولیا که بخطاب اني لاجد نفس الرحمن من قبلة الیمن ذات مبارک حضرت اویس قرني رحمة الله علیه و در زمان دیگر......"-

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10. A omits چنانچه در زمان ; 12. V has ادریس و سنبل و اویس , K has ادریس و مثل ابوالليث and H reads ادریس و مثل یونس ; 13–18. the proper names have, in all the texts, been hopelessly mutilated ; in R several names have been omitted ; H omits و امثال ایشان ; in V و در زمان‌دیگر...... ابوالقاسم گرگاني is omitted.

۲۴ 1–2. in R several names have been omitted ; in R و حضرت شمس تبریز is added after عطّار ; 4. R, while omitting the names of جامي, خواجه احرار and سیّد قاسم انوار, adds the names of خواجه نقشبند سیّد حسن ، میر محمّد افضل حق نما ، خواجه حافظ شیراز ، حافظ قیام‌الدین رسول نما ; 6. all texts, except H, omit و باوا لال دیراگي ; 8. A reads بر صورت کثرت اوّل برهماند تقیّد و ظهور حضرت واجب‌الوجود است ; H reads کرّهٔ مدوّر است ; 11. A, H, K, R have گفته اند for گویند ; 14. A omits این را ; A has جهتی اعتبار نموده ; A reads قرار داده اند و اعتبار نموده ده جهات میگویند.

۲۵ 1. A, R add سیّاره after ستاره ; A reads سیّاره اند بدین نام نامند ...... : 3. A, K have ستاره ها ثوابت , H has ستاره های ثابت and R reads ثوابت ستاره ها ; H has هم میدهد و همین آسمان را حکما فلک after و موحّدان هند آن را ; H omits آن را ; 5-6. A, H read همین آسمان را حکما مها اکاس دانسته داخل...... ; H, K have بجهت آنست که ; R reads محیط است ; 9. A has سپت پاتال , K has سپت دیپ and R has سپت پرت for سپت تال ; 10. R has یک یک ; 15. A reads ربع مسکون میگویند و این ... هم ; حکما قسمت کرده اند و آن را هفت اقلیم ; 16. R omits H, K add اهل هند before این ; 17. all texts, except K, omit زمین ; H, K omit نه ; R omits بمراتب مثل ; 18. A adds جنو دیپ و پلکه دیپ و کشور دیپ ، ساکتمل دیپ و ساگر دیپ ، دیوکر دیپ after میکنند.

۲۶ 1. A reads و نامهای این هفت کوه ها چنین مي نامند ; 3. all texts have گردانیم ; A, R omit وَ جَعَلْنَا الْجِبَالَ اَوْتَاداً ; A has واقع است ; 4. H omits هفت دریا را که سپت سمندر ; H, K read هر یکی ازان هفت کوه آن را ایشان سپت سمندر میگویند ; A reads محیط هر یکی ازان کوه میدانند

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نامهای آن R has ; نامهای این هفت سمندر 5. A reads ; گویند محیط ...... آب شیرین 9. A has for ; دریا after که سپت سمندر گویند H adds ; دریاها هفتم سوادجل ...... for هفتم نیگ سمندر که آن را نرک گویند A reads ; شیر بودن دریاها بعدد هفتم نزد اهل for زلال ; R has تعداد دریای هفت ; A reads یعنی , H, K یعنی اگر بدرستی 11. A has ; اسلام ثابت باین آیهٔ کریمه است یعنی A, K read ; یعنی مقدّرات ...... است 13. R omits ; اگر بدرستیکه موحّدان 15. A has ; مقدّر است خدا در هر زمین و کوهی ...... 17. K has محققان ; 19. H reads که مقرّر است و سیّاره اند .

۲۷ 5. A reads و آن بدن لطیفی که از عمل صورت گرفته باشد ; 6. A, H, K have بعد after فراغ A, H, K add ; خواه از عمل نیک خواه از عمل بد ; 7. A omits و بی توقف ; H omits و بی ; 8. R omits میبرند ; 12. A, H, K add سخت after فریاد ; H adds دراز and A adds زار after ناله , K could not be deciphered ; 14. A adds که اینها را از آنجا بر آرد after پروردگار ; 15. A adds باشند پس and H, K add شدند پس and شده اند , تو respectively, after بخت ; A has جاودان بآن باشند ; A, H omit تا هنگامیکه , 16. H reads پروردگار تو خواهد ; R has از دوزخ for از آنجا ; 17. R omits تعبیر این آیت فرموده ...... از دوزخ بر آورده ; 19. H has بر آوردن and R has این حدیث روایت کرده .

۲۸ 4. H, R have دارد and A has رساند for در آرد ; 5. H, K read ثابت شده از ...... and A reads درین معنی ثابت شده ; 7. A, K read و این رستگاري بزرگ است , H has این رستگاري عظیم است ; 8. A, H, K omit بطور موحّدان هند ; 12. R omits the translation ; 13. A has معلوم for مفهوم ; A has مفهوم for معلوم ; 14. A, K, R omit یعنی وقتیکه ; A, H, K add در before صور ; 15. A, H, K add و هر که در before زمینها ; 17. K has بیخودي and A has بیخردي for بیخبري ; A, H, K omit هم and و هم ; 19. H has ننمودن and R has نمودن for نبودن .

۲۹ 1. A, H, K omit بموجب ...... والاکرام ; 4. R adds اعتباری after تعیّنات ; 5. H omits ظاهر میشود, while R has ظهور مي نماید ; 6. R adds و مُکث نزد ایشان نیز after اعلی باشد ; 7. R reads و فردوس اکبر است

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رستگاری و ; 9. A adds رسد و before رستگار ; H has هر سه قسم است
اخلاص ; 10. R omits بیند و یکی ; R omits و نیک و بد ; A adds هر
before نیک ; 11. R reads بلکه بخدا کند و بد را بغیر نسبت نکند بلکه بخود ;
R has غیر for عین and نشناسد for شناسد ; 13. A, H, K have
کبیر ; A has صمدیت کلیه and R صور کلّیه for صورت کلّیت ; R adds
لطیف before جسمانی ; 14. A adds و ابدی , H adds و ابدای and K
has و آن after لطیف ; 15. all texts omit و آن را ; A, H, K omit
معیّن ; A, H, K have ذرّه و خسی for ذرّه تابکوه ; 17. R reads اعضای
و احشای مختلفه متکثّره یک فرد است ; 18. R omits یک فرد است ; A, H,
K omit ذات او .

۳۲ 2 A, H, K omit lines 2 to 3 ; 4. A has شیخ سعدي ; 8. A, K
have دگرها همه فن for دگر شیوه و فن ; 9. A omits مثل بیاس وغیره ; 10 ;
R has بیراتهه سریر for اورا ; 11. A has ایشان for صوفي صافي ; H, K
omit صافي ; A, H, K omit که اینجا ... است ; 12. H has نظر دانسته اند .
14. A omits باشد ; R has کف پای ; H omits پشت ...... است ; A has
ناخن پای for پشت پای ; A omits ناخنهای پای مها پرس اند ...... و شیاطین ;
15. K has بیابان for سواري and omits شیطان ; in A, H, K the des-
cription of کال comes before اتل ; 20. A, H, K omit تمام عالم.

۳۳ 1. H has مُرَجَّلِیَّت ; 3. A, H, K have دست راست و چپ ...... سه کوه
and omit مها پرس است ; 4. A omits و سمیر ...... است ; 5. A, H, K
omit روشني صبح کاذب ...... است ; A adds که سفید است and H, K add
که رنگ سفید دارد after صادق ; 6. A, H, K omit جامهٔ چادر مها پرس ;
R only has که اَلْکِبْرُ یاءُ رِدائِي اشاره بآن میکند (omitted in transla-
tion) ; 7. A has روشني for وقت while H, K add روشني before وقت ; A,
has که سرخ است for که رنگ شفق داراد ; R has ایزار for پارچهٔ ستر عورت ;
8. R only has اَلْعَظَمَةُ اِزَارِي کنایه بآن میکند (omitted in translation) ;
A, H, K omit حلقه و عمق ; 9. A, H, K omit مکان ; A, H, K omit
هفت دریا ...... نمیدهد ; 11. A, H, K add و در سمندر مي باشد after کرد ;
A, H, K omit و این and گرمی ; A, H, K add که آن آتش همه

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تمامي بدن چیز را هضم میکند after است ; A adds بدن and H, K add after رگهای ; 12. A adds آدم after رگها and R adds آدمی after بناف ; 13. in the texts the Sanskrit terms are so hopelessly mutilated that, in most cases, it was impossible for me to decipher them correctly. 15-16. R adds و ناد after آواز ; R omits و خشک شدن ...... است ; 17. H, K, R only have و آب خوردن (omitted in translation). 18. A has عالم پائین for بالای ; 19-20. R reads جمیع اقسام ستارهها جواهر خانه بخشش پیش ...... راست ; R omits مها پرس است .

۳۴ 3. R omits چنانکه کنول ; 4-5. A has سیاه for بنفش and adds و نقش ; R omits دل هم ...... دارد ; A, H, K omit و این از ...... باشند ; 7. R adds و بدر after ماه ; 8-9. A, H, K omit و شب کمان مها پرس است ; A, H, K add پشت گیان مها پرس است ، هوا پران مها پرس است ، اعمال که ادهرم باشد پشت مها پرس است after میسازد ; A reads کوه قاف که سمیر نامند ; for کوه سمیر پرت ; 10. A omits سمر ... مها پرس است ; 11. A, H, K have از جمله هشت فرشته لوکپال اند ; R adds راجه before اندر ; 12. A has قدرت for قوّت ; 13-14. R omits و دست چپ امساک بخشش مهاپرس است ; 16. R adds انگشت after ناخنهای ; 17–19. the texts here are hopelessly confused, and R has entirely re-written this portion ; 20. A, H, K have کف for کتف.

۳۵ 2. A adds ناد and R adds باد after انامت ; A, H, K omit باریک ; 4. R has آواز گران for روی مبارک ; 5. A has رنج و کاهش for زنخ ; A has طمع عالم ; 6. H, K add دنیوي after الفت and R has نبوي ; A omits بُن ; 7. H, K have خواهش for خورش ; A omits همه ; 8. A omits آب ; A, H, K have حلق for دهن ; R adds و از چهار before عنصر آب ; 9. H, K omit سرستی قوّت ناطقه ...... است ; A, H, K omit که فاحبیت and چار کتاب ; 10. A, H, K omit یعنی عشق ; R adds...... چار عنصر خاک قوّت شامّه مها پرس است اشارت بدانست after عشق ; 11. R adds اشنی کمار ...... نَفَس زدن مها پرس after است ; 12. R omits هر دو گوش ... است ; 13. A has عنصر باد for عنصر خاک ; 15. A, H, K omit ذات ; 16-17. R omits و اصل نور ...... بینائی مها پرس است ; A, H, K add عالم

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روز...... برهم زدن after آفرینش, while R adds عالم بینائی ; 18. R omits توستا ; مها پرس است ; 19. A omits موکّل ; A has آسن for توستا ; R reads توستا نام موکّل که بر قهر و غضب است .

۳۶ 2. R has هرلوک and A has ست لوک for لوک ; 3. A omits و کتاب الله ; 4. A, H, K have لوکها for کوهها ; H omits بدن ; 6. A, H read بدن مها پرس after آفتاب , while K adds حُسن before آفتاب ; 7. R adds و بزبان هند این مهاپرش را بهرات سروپ نیز گویند after انسان کامل مها سُده ; R omits است...... صورت ; 8. R reads است ; 9. A reads و مها پرس و ظلّ الله و مظهر آفتاب ذات خلوت خانه...... از خانه ; 10. H adds داؤد before گفت ; A reads چنانکه حکم شد بداؤد کُن and R has دار for تو پاکي و منزّه از خانه ; 11. R has تنزیهي and adds تا من درو خانهٔ خود کنم و فرمود که یا داؤد اذا رایت لي طالباً فکن له خادماً یعنی ای داؤد هر کجا بینی عاشق مرا پس شو تو برای او خدمتگار یاری دهنده تا او بمن برسد ; R adds پس before هرچه ; R omits بر سبیل ; R reads درین برهماند تفصیل بر ذات انسان کامل مکمّل اکمل که او نسخهٔ عالم بطریق اجمال و تفصیل و او خلاصهٔ موجودات است بر ; 12. R reads کبیر است چنانچه این آیت کریمه ناطق در شان ; 13. R reads هیچ یکی از مخلوقات نیست اوست ; 16. K, R omit یعنی رستگاریء همه ; R omits در ذاتست ; R reads اضمهال ضمحلال در ذات ; 18. R omits و بهشت و دوزخ ; A, H, K omit و شب ; R adds مستور after ذات .

۳۷ 1-2 R omits the Persian translation ; 4. A, H add خدا after روز and شب ; R has چشم for شب ; 7. R omits در باب بودن در جنّت ; 8. A, H, K add مویّد after همیشه ; 9. A, H, K read مراد از ابدیت این مُکث است ; 10. A, K, R have عنایت ازلی درو هست ; A, H, K omit چنانچه and have در باب این چنین جماعت است این دو آیهٔ کریمه ; 12–15. the Persian translation is defective in all the texts, and the variants are too many ; 19-20. A has مژده for مردی ; K reads درنگ کنندگان باشند و جاودان ماندگان اندرو .

۳۸ 2. A reads ربوبیت و ظهور و بطون ; R omits الوهیت and بطون ; 4. A, H,

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K have صد کرور for هزار and omit سال دنیا ; 9. A omits روز before پنجاه and also omits هزار ; A omits و هر روز...... متعارف است ; H reads هر روز ازین پنجاه K has , و هر روز ازین پنجاه هزار هزار سال متعارف است هر روز ازین پنجاه هزار سال هزار سال and R has هزار سال متعارف است متعارف است ; 10-11. A, R omit بآن ; all texts add صد سال after پس ; A has مدّت ظهور و تمامئ عالم را , H has و مدّت روز ظهور تماميِ عالم and K has و مدّت عمر روز و تمامئ عالم ; K has هزار for هیجده ; 12. A, H, K have صد کرور for هزار سال ; A, H, K read خصوصیت عدد هژده برای این است که مراتب اعداد نزد ایشان منحصر در هژده است ; 14-15. A, H, K omit شمار ; H omits که درین ...... قیامتها را ; A, K read قیامتهای که درمیان گذشت و خواهند گذشت آن را قیامت صغری گویند و موحّدان هند آن را قدر کهنده پرلی گویند ; 16. A, K have این روز را شام شود ; K adds روز before ; 17. all texts have و حُکم for بحکم .

۳۹ 2. A, K add پیچیدن and H adds پیچیدگان after مانند ; A, H, K add برای این آثار بظهور خواهد after کتابت and R adds بظهور خواهد رسید رسید ; 3. R adds اضمحال after استهلاک ; R omits در حضرت...... شد ; 5. R omits سکهوپت ...... و جبروت ; 6. A, H, K have فراغت از ایجاد و مقام خلق و اظهار عالم ; R adds دلالت میکند after کریمه ; 8. R adds جبروت after سکهوپت ; 9. R omits و بعد از...... نوشته شده ; 11. A has در سبیل for درین باب ; 12. R omits است و این ; 15. R omits ادوار and adds است و بی نیازي ; 16-17. R adds و نه همین before و یک روز ; R has و باز چون روز تمام میشود شب میگردد ; R reads چون این شب ; 18. R omits الی غیرالنهایت ; R adds چنانچه حضرت before خواجه ; 19. A omits اشاره بهمین بی نهایتی و بی نیازئ او ; R reads بی نهایتيِ ادوار نموده فرموده .

۴۰ 2. All texts have آنچه but in Brock. edition of *Dīwān-i-Ḥāfiẓ* هرچه is given ; 4. A has تعبیه خود کند ; 5. A, K, R add باز اعاده کنیم تمام شدن دورۀ عالم چه آدم after خلقت ; 6-7. A has ظهور و خلقت همان و ابوالبشر بعینه پیدا شود ; 9-10. R adds از قدرت کاملۀ خود after کنیم ; R

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لهذا خاتمیت پیغمبر ما (صلعم) ازین ثابت نمیشود زیرا که در روز دیگر پیغمبر reads
درمیان راه 13. R adds ; علیه الصّلوة والسّلام بعینه موجود خواهد شد
و آنها را بنشاند 14. R adds ; یکی after شتر R adds ; قطار before
با اخي 15. R adds ; بار است after و صندوق بکشاد و دید که در هر صندوق ......
; این after اسرار 17. R adds ; با صندوق 16. A, K, R omit ; پرسید که after
هجرت النّبي صلّی 19. R has ; که موسوم بمجمع البحرین گشته 18. A has
یی اندوه 20. R has ; سنین R omits ; نبوي A omits ; اللّه علیه و سلّم
. دارا شکوه after

INDEX I

[Translation]

Names of Persons.

In the following Index, prefixes like **Abū**, **Ibn** and **Umm** are disregarded in the alphabetical arrangement: thus, for example, names like **Abul Ḥasan**, **Ibn-i-Muljam** must be sought under **H** and **M** respectively, not under **A** and **I**. The letter **b.** between two names stands for **Ibn**, "son of....," the letter **d.** coming after a person's name relates to his death, and **c** (*circa*) to the approximate date of his birth or death, as the case may be. A number placed in parenthesis, after the name of a ruler, relates to the beginning and end of his reign; and *n* after the number of a page indicates a footnote.

INDEX II

[TRANSLATION]

Technical Terms, Important Words, Sects, Ṣūfī Orders, etc.

In the following Index, Sanskrit words have been arranged as they are given in the Text, and not as they are written in Sanskrit; but an attempt has been made to transliterate them, wherever possible. Such proper names as *Jibra'īl* or *Mahīsh* etc. have, for good reasons, been included in this list.

INDEX III

[TRANSLATION]

Books mentioned in the Text and the Notes.